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OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1906

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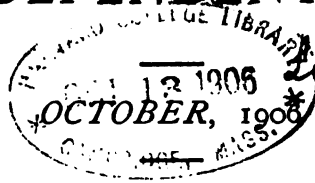
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NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

ANYTHING more pitiable than Mr. Wyndham's recantation of his earlier faith it would be difficult to imagine. A short time ago, the attitude of Mr. Balfour, the speeches of Lord Dudley, and Mr. Wyndham's own acceptance of Sir Anthony MacDonnell as "a colleague rather than a subordinate," seemed to portend the dawning of a better day for Unionism in Ireland. It had begun, so it seemed, to move with the times. The Land Act of 1903 appeared as the first step in an advance which must make Liberals correct the hostile judgment they had formed as to their opponents' Irish policy. Those who acted on such impressions were speedily disillusioned. The new spirit was found to be incompatible with Unionist principles. Mr. Wyndham was hounded from office by an "Orange" clamour which found its crudest and loudest expression in the *Times*, and his comparatively sympathetic régime was succeeded by the stale old policy of repression and contempt embodied in Mr. Walter Long. The controversy which this gentleman has stirred up as to his exact relation to his distinguished Under-Secretary on taking office is of no great interest in itself, but it brings into even clearer light the collapse of those earlier hopes. Unionism—which we gladly admit has done much for Ireland, which has laid in Ireland administrative foundations on which more than one useful superstructure is destined to be raised—has reached the end of its possibilities. No experiment could have been

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tried under more favourable auspices than the attempt to govern Ireland "according to Irish ideas" three years ago. Yet it failed. Its *coup de grace* is the recent denial of Mr. Wyndham himself that he ever wandered in the slightest degree from the strait path of Unionist tradition—the tradition which is represented by Mr. Long. The failure is making the people of Great Britain realise that the alternative policy is the only one left open—the policy, in some form or other, not of good government from outside, but of self-government. The time is peculiarly favourable for the introduction of a bold measure by the Government. There are various reasons for this. Ireland is quiet, and what is given now would be given gracefully; it would neither be discounted in Irish eyes, nor attacked by English opponents, as a mere concession to disorderly agitation. We cannot tell how long this opportunity may last. Englishmen, again, from their own point of view, are impatient of the time and attention which Irish local affairs withdraw from the consideration of social evils at home. To refuse to meet the demands of Parliamentary Nationalism half-way would be to add so much more strength to the Extremist Party, now weak and divided. Lastly, if the growth of the Nationalist and Labour Parties in Belfast continues and spreads, Orangeism will soon come to an end for lack of Orangemen. Meantime, the failure of the potato-crop in the West, and the latest figures of the Registrar-General, remind us of the gaunt spectre of Irish misery and despair ever haunting the background. Though the excess of births over deaths in 1905-6 was 27,761, the population has diminished, for the unceasing stream of emigration has drained Ireland of 30,676 of her most vigorous sons and daughters.

We heartily concur in our contributor's strictures on the Report of the Motor Commission, and on the attitude of motorists generally towards the public. The high roads are for the use of all, including motorists. But it is evident on general principles, as well as undoubted law, that no section of the

**The Motor
Tyranny**

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community can establish a claim to use public facilities in a manner calculated to cause annoyance and suffering to the majority. And it is quite certain that the tolerance with which motorists are treated by the law would not be extended to less wealthy or influential classes, a fact in itself a blot upon a system which boasts that all are equal before it. Can it be doubted for a moment that, if the working-man were suddenly to develop a form of amusement, or even of business, which contaminated the public water supply or rendered carriage traffic a source of constant danger to the occupants of carriages, the new departure would be put down with a strong hand, however innocent or even laudable the pursuit when carried on under proper conditions? And, inasmuch as a speed limit which would do away with most of the evil consequences at present attendant on motoring would not in the least prevent a legitimate use of motors, or hinder the growth of a valuable industry, it ought to be imposed at once. The specious argument that the limits of danger ought to be treated as a question of fact in each case, is simply absurd. It would mean that a wealthy motorist, prepared to spend money in litigation, would always escape unless an accident had occurred. Ten or twelve miles in the open country, and six in towns and villages, are the utmost limits compatible with public safety and the comfort of householders who have the misfortune to live on main roads. A motor going at a greater pace is simply a railway train at large, without any of the precautions hitherto deemed to be essential in the case of railway trains, and with the added terror of not being confined to a fixed track. Motorists who are not satisfied with the normal rate of progression should combine to build roads of their own. It is monstrous that the wealthy lower orders should be able, by entering into an organised conspiracy, to rob the public of its heritage of peaceful roads, maintained at the expense of ratepayers, the majority of whom can never hope to share in the selfish enjoyment of their tormentors.

Although the article which we print below, in which

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Mr. Sturge recalls the facts about old West Indian Slavery, is of a purely retrospective character, it cannot be without significance in these days when the coloured problem is coming up again in very acute forms all over the world. A special warning is conveyed to us moderns by the ghoulis facts which Mr. Sturge has unearthed—certainly with no morbid, or sensational purpose: otherwise it were better to let the past hide its superfluous horror and wickedness. But the warning is needed, and the tale of fiendish cruelty elevated into a system should be read by all who are to-day inclined to regret slavery in face of the after-math of difficulties which its abolition has left behind.

Those who think that white men can be trusted, when their commercial interests are at stake, with absolute power over blacks, should read this story. Nor can we flatter ourselves that the English are better than other races. If Belgians conduct the Congo horrors, the descendants of the English settlers in America burn black men alive not infrequently when they are innocent, and treat the blacks in the way so powerfully described by Mr. Wells in his articles in the *Tribune*. Mr. Sturge's article shows us what the Englishmen of a hundred years ago were like in the British West Indies. They, or their ancestors at least, were our own flesh and blood, and were turned into devils like this because they were entrusted with absolute power over an inferior race where their own commercial interest was concerned. Any step in the direction of giving the white business man power to obtain labour outside the open labour market, leads *pro tanto* to the establishment of a state of society like this.

The Russian Government presents many different aspects to the various kinds of races and classes over whom it rules. All its activities are bad, because all are conducted without altruism or scruple of morality, solely with a view to the maintenance of its own power. This object supplies the key to otherwise inexplicable contradictions. For instance, the

**The Baltic
Provinces**

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bureaucracy is in most parts of Russia the enemy of the peasants' claim to the land ; it is the protector of "order and property : " in the Baltic Provinces, however, it stirs up the peasants to exterminate the land-owning class, because that class is German, and has therefore no sympathy with the Russifying autocracy and its policy of centralisation. We print below an interesting statement of the case for the German upper-class in the Baltic Provinces, from the pen of Prince A. Lieven. Perhaps there is more to be said for "socialistic" ideas of land ownership than he allows, but we do not expect that a violent revolution carried through by such an unhallowed combination of a reactionary autocracy with an uneducated peasantry is likely to arrive at anything very good. The story serves at least to show the propertied and conservative classes of Europe what sort of champion the Russian Government is of their ideas. More generally speaking, the sad story again reminds us how difficult it is for any real civilisation to grow up where there is race hatred. And race domination, however mildly used, always seems to breed race hatred in the oppressed (or patronised) race. This is the prime cause why eastern Europe—from Baltic to Levant—seems so unsatisfactory and uncivilised a place. For it is the region of many races living side by side in hatred.

During the first half of last month a severe crisis threatened the London money market, and although at the time of writing the outlook seems clearer

The Gold Reserve	there are still some black clouds on the financial horizon. Upon the whole the year started well enough. Although most of the war taxation remained, Mr. Asquith in his first budget contrived to restore our public finances to a sound condition by making the Sinking Fund effective for the first time since the Boer War. This step seemed to guarantee a steady improvement in the National Credit. Unfortunately and as usual the unexpected happened. The Earthquake and Fire in San Francisco destroyed as much capital as the Germans have sunk in their war with the Herreros. A considerable
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NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

part of the loss, probably six or eight millions sterling, fell upon British Insurance Companies. This led to forced sales of consols and other gilt-edged securities on a scale which neutralised the effects of the Sinking Fund ; and at the same time the suspension of banking facilities in San Francisco caused a drain of gold thither. Another serious blow to finance and credit has been the collapse of Russian securities following upon the dissolution of the Duma and the re-establishment of tyranny (tempered by anarchy and assassination) throughout Russia. If the political situation in Russia does not ameliorate there is almost certain to be serious trouble in Paris and Berlin. On the top of all this depression what could have been less looked for than the sudden and sensational upward movement, which began in July and August, in American Railroad securities? The movement indeed was not entirely artificial ; for it was supported by an extraordinary boom in American trade. But prices were already rather high, and this extra inflation has been artificial in so far as it has been worked up by the railway magnates, who have engineered a vast speculative rise partly by direct operations through Banks which they control and partly by holding out the bait of largely increased dividends in railways like the Union Pacific and the Southern Pacific. Thus speculation as usual was accompanied by inflation of credit, which in its turn required a larger gold basis for its support than could be supplied without heavy importations from Europe. Consequently New York began to make big purchases of gold in London, and about £6,000,000 was taken—half in American Eagles from the Bank of England and half in gold bullion from the open market. The Bank rate was forced up to four per cent., and at the time of writing a bank rate of five per cent. seems to be in measurable distance. It is difficult to see how these big doses of gold can maintain the inflated prices of Wall Street long enough to allow the great railway bosses to unload on the market. Although it is dangerous to prophecy, we shall be surprised if the autumn does not witness a considerable massacre among Stock Exchange gamblers, particularly the American variety.

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The difference of opinion at the Trades Union Congress on the minimum wage was a healthy sign. It shows that organised labour is alive to all sides of the social problem, regarded as a problem both of principle and of tactics ; and that it does not allow itself to be led, either by phrases or persons, without asking the reason why. The Labour Party was attacked for its alleged timidity in not supporting in Parliament a 30s. minimum wage for Government employes. Mr. Shackleton replied—with admirable courage under the circumstances—that they put forward a more moderate proposal because it was the only one that had the slightest chance of being carried by the present House of Commons ; and it is noteworthy that he was afterwards elected to the Parliamentary Committee of the Congress at the head of the poll. There is much to be said on both sides in the eternal conflict between principle and expediency. At present the point to be noted is that Parliamentary experience is having its inevitable effect in promoting prudence. Whatever the Labour Party may be blamed for, it cannot be accused of mere talking for effect, or of a blind advocacy of sweeping change. It knows very well that, whatever the exact social ideal to which it looks forward—a point on which its members are not agreed—the way to reach it consists of many small steps, of which the next is always the clearest.

LIBERALISM, SOCIALISM, AND THE MASTER OF ELIBANK

THE relations between Liberalism and Socialism have been seriously called in question by the Master of Elibank. Speaking at West Linton, Peeblesshire, on August 25, he declared, according to *The Times*, that the Labour Party was a Socialist Party, that the Liberal Party was fundamentally opposed to Socialism, and that he was "not sure that circumstances would not force them (the Liberal Party) to embark upon a crusade against Socialism." He also spoke of the conviction which had recently "been forced upon him about the real cleavage between Socialism and Liberalism—namely, collectivism and individualism." It is not surprising that these utterances have evoked much comment, or that they have been hailed with transports of delight by the Tory press. The really significant thing is that the Liberal Party has received the speech with coolness mingled with amusement. It is clear that Socialism is no longer a bogey to the majority of those who call themselves Liberals. It may be added that if it were not so—if such a speech, at the opening of the twentieth century, had any considerable following in the ranks of the Liberal Party, then, indeed, there would be the gravest danger that, to use the Master of Elibank's phrase, "its very vitals would be consumed," and it would "disappear as an active force in British politics."

In that most illuminating survey of the nineteenth century, *Law and Opinion in England*, Professor Dicey traces the growth of British public opinion from an opening period of legislative quiescence, through a period of

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increasing consent to, and belief in, legislative action, to the logical outcome of faith in legislative action, a period of collectivism. I quote Professor Dicey's conspectus of the century's political development :

- (1) Period of old Toryism or legislative quiescence (1800-1830).
- (2) Period of Benthamism or Individualism (1825-1870).
- (3) Period of Collectivism (1865-1900).

It is to be feared that the Master of Elibank has realised his position too late. Collectivism was not introduced into British politics by the Labour Party. It was chiefly introduced by men who, esteeming themselves individualists, and calling themselves variously Liberals, Radicals, Conservatives, Unionists, found by practical experience that man is a social animal, and that, wherever two or three men are gathered together for mutual help, Socialism is in the midst of them. A crusade against Socialism would be a crusade against the better part of human nature; it would be a crusade against the greater part of the legislation of all parties in the past half-century.

For upon what does Professor Dicey base his analysis of the progress of British opinion? The Liberalism which vainly sought to be individualistic followed Bentham in adopting the principle of utility "which lays down"—to quote Bentham—"as the only right and justifiable end of government, the greatest happiness of the greatest number." In the pursuit of this principle, what has been done? At every point Parliament has found it necessary to seek the greatest good in enactments which have given increased protection and guidance to individuals, which have placed increasing restrictions upon freedom of contract, which have given a distinct preference to collective action, and which, especially in the last twenty years, have sought to equalise advantages. To all these measures, it is to be hoped, the Master of Elibank has given, and gives, consent. Yet, while a consenter to, if not an aider and abettor of, socialistic legislation of a pronounced character, he invites the Liberal

LIBERALISM, SOCIALISM, MASTER OF ELIBANK

Party to address itself like a second Cnut to the rising and irresistible tide of social reform. He asks it to revert to the views of the earlier Cobden, of the immature John Stuart Mill. He asks it to attempt to stem a current of thought and opinion which, happily, is not confined to the United Kingdom, but which, from Germany to Japan, from Canada to New Zealand, is flowing strongly throughout the civilised world.

A junior member of a Liberal Government discovers his party making for the shoals and rocks of Socialism in 1906. It was in 1881 that Mr. John Morley wrote :¹

“It cannot be seriously denied that Cobden was fully justified in describing the tendencies of this legislation (the factory laws) as Socialistic. It was an exertion of the power of the State, in its strongest form, definitely limiting in the interest of the labourer the administration of capital. The Act of 1844 was only a rudimentary step in this direction. In 1847 the Ten Hours Bill became law. Cobden was abroad at the time, and took no part in its final stages. In the thirty years that followed, the principle has been extended with astonishing perseverance. We have to-day a complete, minute, and voluminous code for the protection of labour But all this is one of the largest branches of what the most importunate Socialists have been accustomed to demand, and if we add to this vast fabric of labour legislation our system of Poor Law, we find the rather amazing result that in the country where Socialism has been less talked about than any other country in Europe, its principles have been most extensively applied.”

But if British labour legislation in 1881 was Socialistic, what shall be said of the labour laws of the twenty-five years that have elapsed? Collectivism has triumphed at every point, although it cannot now be said, unfortunately, that it is in the United Kingdom that Socialist principles

¹ *Life of Cobden*, Vol. I., pp. 302-3.

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have been most extensively applied to the protection of the labourer. Turning from protective law to endeavours to equalise advantages and distribute wealth, we have the establishment of free education and the remarkable socialistic experiments of municipalities. The former, once "the bitter cry of outcast Radicalism," and eventually enacted by a Unionist Government, is, as Professor Dicey says, "conclusive proof that, in one sphere of social life, the old arguments of Individualism have lost their practical cogency." The latter bears directly upon the Master of Elibank's declaration that : "Liberals do not believe in the public ownership of the means of production." If this be true, then they do not believe in accomplished facts. The municipalities have now employed in waterworks, gasworks, electrical works, tramways, baths and wash-houses, workingmen's houses, harbours, piers, docks, and other directly reproductive undertakings, as much as £125,000,000 of capital. It is true that the British government itself conducts no State industry of importance beyond the Post Office, telegraphs and telephones, but what British rule has neglected to do in the United Kingdom it has wisely done in India. There it appropriates the unearned increment from land, and owns those important "means of production," railways, canals and forests. There it even acts as paternal money-lender. Mr. John Morley, individualist and Secretary of State for India, boasts from his place in the House of Commons of the success of Indian State Socialism. The *Spectator* in commenting upon the Master of Elibank's speech remarked : "There is nothing commoner even now than to hear a man talk strong Socialism in the abstract, but whenever a concrete Socialist proposal is put forward to see him finding good practical reasons for condemning it." It is surely commoner, as in the case of Mr. John Morley, to find the individualist in theory not only consenting to, but actually taking part in, Socialist operations. Indeed, it may well be that, like Lord Shaftesbury, the Master of Elibank himself is an unconscious Socialist, who is ever compromising with an impossible individualistic theory—ever finding himself associated in "collective" work with his fellows.

The Liberal Party contains heterogeneous elements,

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truly, and of a truth, also, it is largely unconscious of the forces which impel it. Within its ranks in the House of Commons are more avowed Collectivists than can be boasted of by the Labour Party, a few conscious Individualists, and many professional and business men who have never, in all probability, searched their hearts upon the principles of collectivism and individualism. Without the House, the Party is for the most part composed of members of the various poor, who are rapidly beginning to interest themselves in social questions, and who readily subscribe to socialistic proposals when placed before them in concrete form. A Liberal crusade against Socialism would, therefore, not merely thin the Liberal ranks. It would transfer the bulk of the Liberal voting strength to the Labour and Protectionist parties, and leave the crusaders high and dry in the company of a not very distinguished band of landlords, shareowners, money merchants, shortsighted "bitter criers" of the middle-class, and belated economists. The Tariff Reformers would be foolish indeed if they missed such an opportunity. They would hasten to coquet with Socialism, and, following the hint of Professor W. J. Ashley of Birmingham, compound a prescription which would give the capitalist employer his import duty and the workman his old age pension. Let us imagine the three parties joined in battle for the General Election of 1910. A Liberal Party proudly bearing on its banners the inspiring war cry of *Laissez Faire*. A Unionist Party, for Protection and Social Reform. A Labour Party, preaching a vigorous Socialism. Then to the polls—and exit the Liberal Party.

And, given such a contest, Liberalism would richly deserve extinction. If the Liberal Party is to live, it can only do so by consciously continuing the collective efforts which have been increasingly exerted, and not by one party alone, in the past forty years. The period 1865–1900, which Professor Dicey has called the period of Collectivism, may be termed the period of Unconscious Socialism. With the twentieth century begins a period of Conscious Socialism. The realisation of the actual trend of opinion and legislation may frighten some timid souls, as it has obviously alarmed the Master of Elibank, but for the greater part

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men will push on undismayed by the prospect of increased national organisation, cheerfully admitting with Sir William Harcourt that "We are all Socialists nowadays." Is there room for a "Liberal" party in this new era? It is for Liberals themselves to decide. If they imagine that they can exist merely by flourishing the Free Trade flag they are profoundly mistaken. Liberalism can only continue to be a power by leading the nation on the path of a sane collectivism. I say "leading" because I do not mean the throwing of sops to Cerberus. Not from expediency, but from conviction, the Liberal of the new time must seek the "greatest good of the greatest number" in the strengthening of common rules and in the admittance of every child into the Kingdom of Earth. Not to save a "party," but to gain economic independence and consequent "Liberty" for the individual, the Liberal Collectivist will slowly but surely seek to place the "means of production," which are the means of life, at the common disposal for the common good.

In the autobiography of a great man is to be found the following passage :—

"I look forward to a time when the rule that they who do not work shall not eat will be applied not to paupers only, but impartially to all; and when the division of the produce of labour, instead of depending, in so great a degree as it now does, on the accident of birth, will be made by concert on an acknowledged principle of justice."

These words of aspiration to a Socialist ideal were written by John Stuart Mill, author of *On Liberty*. Let those who fondly esteem themselves Individualists reflect upon them. To seek the "division of the produce of labour . . . by concert on an acknowledged principle of justice," is the only material policy worth consideration in 1906. The Liberal Party must seek it or perish.

L. G. CHIOZZA MONEY

THE MOTOR TYRANNY

THE Royal Commission on Motor-cars is an amazing document. For some ten years the people of this country—as of all countries—have been groaning under a public nuisance which increases day by day until it has reached a malignity and magnitude altogether unprecedented. Their property has been depreciated ; their senses offended ; their comfort destroyed ; their security invaded. The amenity of the country has been indefinitely impaired ; the discomfort of the town indefinitely increased. The citizen who does not motor has become a kind of outlaw on his own highways. He travels, whether on foot, by carriage, or by bicycle, under conditions which render enjoyment impossible, and safety of life and limb precarious. And if it be urged that this nuisance is as yet confined to a few main thoroughfares, it must be remembered that we are only at the beginning ; and that, according to any reasonable forecast, in ten years' time, unless some drastic measures are adopted, there will not be a country lane in the kingdom free from dust and stench, nor a field or a common undisturbed by that most odious of sounds, the hooting of the motor horn.

In the face of this grave peril—for it is nothing less—what do the Commissioners recommend? They recommend the abolition of the speed limit.¹ They propose, that is to say, to weaken the law instead of strengthening it ! Their defence is the admitted fact that the speed limit is in itself insufficient to protect the public. The logical conclusion would be to substitute something more effective ; but instead of this, the Commissioners are content to fall back

¹ Outside towns and villages.

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upon the equally unsatisfactory and inadequate clause which prohibits reckless and negligent driving. It is a sufficient condemnation of their policy that it is generally opposed by the chief constables of counties; and that the only two members of the Commission who may be supposed from their official status to have at heart the interests of the public rather than that of motorists—the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis, and the Assistant Secretary of the Local Government Board—decline to associate themselves with this recommendation of their colleagues, on the ground that “in more than three counties out of four throughout the United Kingdom sections which control dangerous or over-rapid driving were practically not enforced.” The Commissioners find an inadequate law inadequately enforced, and the remedy they suggest is to make the law still more inadequate! Comment is superfluous! There are other recommendations; but as though some of them may be useful they are not calculated, and presumably not intended, to have any important or serious effects, they need not here be referred to in detail. The policy of the Commissioners is, in brief, to leave things as they are, trusting to an improvement in the surface of the roads, which, as they frankly admit, “can be but of slow application.” That being so, it is time for public opinion to declare itself.

What is the situation? There were, according to the Commissioners, 44,000, odd, motor-cars registered in the United Kingdom on the 1st May, 1906. Supposing—an extreme assumption—that each car were owned by a separate owner, and that each owner represented a family of five, we should have, at an outside estimate, a population of under 250,000 men, women, and children, interested in the pastime of motoring. On the other hand, we have the remaining 40,000,000 of the United Kingdom, actual or prospective sufferers by the nuisance. Of the 44,000 owners of cars a certain proportion, no doubt, are professional or business men using their cars for the purposes of their daily work. But the large majority, it may be safely presumed, motor for amusement. We have then this position: the whole population of the country is subjected to a constantly increasing annoyance and damage,

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material and moral, in order that a handful of rich men may indulge themselves freely in a peculiarly fatuous and ignoble form of sport. These men, in effect, are driving off the highways all but those who are compelled in the course of their necessary avocations to endure the discomfort and risk imposed upon them. The motorists are the chartered tyrants of the road, and they use, or abuse, their privileged position with an inconsiderate insolence which illustrates forcibly the extent to which the wealth of England, during the past half century, has passed away from the hands of gentlemen. Such a situation, surely, has only to be stated to present itself as intolerable. Consider what it is that people are compelled to endure, and are enduring with a patience almost incredible. I quote from the Report :

“ We give only a few instances of the complaints made. Mr. Breathwaite, a railway signalman at Elstree, said :—

‘ I have gone out for a Sunday afternoon’s walk with my wife and family and come home as if I had come out of a flour mill ; the dust has been raised by motors and it has been something terrific, and instead of coming home with an appetite for your tea and feeling benefited by your country walk, you come home tired and jaded, and irritated—and in fact you feel that you wish that you had not gone out at all.’

“ Miss Everett-Green, an author living near Guildford, in answer to a question, ‘ Do you suffer from the dust ? ’ replied :—

‘ Very much. . . . In 1904 it was so unendurable that we hardly knew how to live in the house. The dust simply ruined everything indoors and out. I have a very pretty garden, having spent a great deal of money on it in putting up glass houses and laying it out in an attractive fashion, but all the plants under glass were spoiled, all the flowers were spoiled, all the strawberries and grapes were spoiled, and our health was injured. I had an inflamed throat all the summer and my eyes were very troublesome, so that I could not

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do my work at all. I had to get new typewriters. I had got new typewriters in 1902, and I had to change them again this year, they got so gritty.'

" Mr. Steel, a market gardener of Brentford, said :—

'The effect of the dust from motor cars is so to destroy the marketable value of the produce on either side of the road, more particularly fruit, flowers, and salads, that growers have frequently complained to me,'

and he further stated that both the rental value of land and of the produce that could be grown upon it had been affected in consequence of the dust. With reference to the damage caused to property by dust, Mr. W. B. Mason, an estate agent at Ascot and Windsor, said that in the vicinity of the Bath Road :—

'The herbage on both sides of the road within fifty yards of the hedge is absolutely useless either for feeding cattle or harvesting,'

and as to specific instances of deterioration in value of houses :—

'There is a house, at Salt Hill, which for many years has been let on lease as a ladies' school, kept by a Mrs. Gossett Hill. . . . The house is right on the road and the garden is right on the road. She found that the school girls were unable to use the garden and that in the house they were unable to open their windows. The property cost her about £5,000 and she has sold it for £2,000, and the man who bought it as a speculation, thinking to make some money out of it, is unable to sell it at any price,'

and he mentioned several other similar examples. The same witness, speaking at Maidenhead, said :—

'I myself drove along there last summer with a horse, past three motor-cars, and I could not see my

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horse. I sat for two minutes with my hands over my eyes. You cannot drive along the Bath Road with a horse and trap unless you wear a pair of goggles.'

"Mr. J. Drysdale, a tenant farmer of Stirlingshire and one of the representatives of the Scottish Chambers of Agriculture, quoted some of the answers sent in by affiliated societies all over Scotland in reply to a circular from that body. They were as follows :—

'Considerable injury has been done to hedges by dust.' 'Hay and grain crops are rendered dangerous as feeding for live stock by fine dust adhering to them.' 'Hedges and crops near roads get covered with dust ; it ruins hay.' 'Cattle seldom grazed on pasture near roads,' etc.

"In addition to this oral evidence we have, before and during the preparation of this Report, received, either directly or through the Government Departments, a great number of resolutions from various local authorities complaining of the dust nuisance and calling for a remedy.

"It would be impossible to set out the whole of these, but they run generally on the same lines, and the great majority of them come from rural districts."

Here then is the nuisance, admitted, palpable, gross. In the face of it, what policy would be adopted by a self-respecting community able and determined to protect that decency and amenity of life which is a prime condition of civilisation ? It is not difficult to indicate in general what ought to be done. In the first place, the tax should be considerably increased. The Commissioners recommend an increase, accompanied by graduation according to weight, and it is satisfactory to be able on this point to agree with them, though probably the increase they recommend is insufficient. The amount collected from motor-cars in the year 1905-6 was about £100,000. It would be interesting to be able to set against this the money loss due to the destruction of the roads by motors. No data are forthcoming ; but the Commissioners quote a case of a carrier "putting on a service of heavy motor-cars, with narrow

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iron tyres, which made twenty-two single journeys a day along six miles of country main roads between Blackburn and Preston. In three months' time damage to the extent of £7,000 was done to the road, which amount the County Council found themselves unable to recover." This was an extreme case. But it is admitted that the damage done by heavy motor-cars is very considerable ; and it is only right that the full cost of such damage shall be recovered in the form of taxation.

Secondly, the fines for breaches of the law should be largely increased. £10 is nothing to a man who can afford to spend £200 or £300 on the upkeep of his car. Probably nothing less than a minimum fine of £50 would really act as a deterrent. And at every subsequent offence this fine should be increased.

Thirdly, and this is the important point, motorists should not be allowed to use the public highways except under regulations which render impossible the nuisance of dust and smell, and the danger and anxiety caused to the public by fast driving. The Commissioners have come to the conclusion that "at a speed below ten miles an hour the dust raised is comparatively slight, that it increases very greatly at from, say, twelve to twenty miles an hour, and continues to increase, but in a smaller proportion at higher speeds." The moral is obvious. The speed limit, instead of being abolished, should be reduced to ten miles an hour. There is no reason whatever against this reduction, except the fact that motorists enjoy driving fast. And the puerile amusement of a numerically negligible section of the community does not weigh in the balance against the convenience and interest of the public at large.

As to the nuisance of offensive fumes, it is a curious fact that under the present law a motor-car is defined as a vehicle which, amongst other things, is so constructed "that no smoke or visible vapour is emitted therefrom except from any temporary or accidental cause." As many motor-cars do, as a matter of fact, continually, and by their essence, emit smoke or visible vapour of a peculiarly offensive kind, it follows that motor-cars are, at law, not motor-cars, and therefore not entitled to enjoy the privileges conferred by

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the Motor Car Act. On the other hand, the emission of smoke or visible vapour is not an offence. The Commissioners suggest that it should be made one, if the emission be "in such quantity as to be an annoyance or danger to the public." But the source of annoyance is not so much the "visibility" of the vapour as its odour. The emission of this odour in any quantity at all is an annoyance. And the law should prohibit the use of the highways to all motor vehicles which cannot travel without creating this nuisance.

Fourthly, if motorists complain that legislation such as is suggested above would deprive motoring of all its charm, if they cannot be happy unless they are rushing along at a break-neck speed, trailing behind them a cloud of dust and stench, the remedy is in their own hands. They must form companies and get power to make special motor roads. If this be impracticable, then there is nothing to be said, except that the practice of motoring as a sport is incompatible with the public comfort and convenience, and therefore cannot be permitted. Motorists have a perfect right to use the public highways under the same conditions as those imposed on other users; they have no moral right, and should have no legal right, to use them in a way which inflicts damage and loss on the public. Probably a speed limit of ten miles, and the prohibition of the emission of vapour and smoke, would sufficiently protect the public, if the law were adequately enforced, with the sanction of penalties that would be really deterrent. And it is on these lines that legislation would be introduced by any government that should really have at heart the interest and the comfort of the mass of the people.

In all that precedes I have had in mind private motor-cars, not used for purposes of trade. There remains the motor omnibus and the cars used for trade. These are in a different category, but they should be subject to similar regulations. They have, no doubt, and should have, a great future before them. But at present the undoubted advantages they confer are more than counterbalanced by their disadvantages. The public is more injured by the noise and smell and vibration for which they are responsible than it is benefited by their superior convenience.

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These disadvantages, no doubt, can be, and will be obviated. But until they are, these vehicles should not be allowed to ply the streets. They are not yet perfect enough to appear in public. And Local Authorities should decline to license them, until the requisite improvements have been introduced into their mechanism. The first duty of a public authority is to protect the amenities of life. The extension of facilities for locomotion comes second. And it is for want of recognition of this principle that we are constantly being burdened with facilities of which the majority of us, I believe, would gladly be rid, if only we could. The fact that people use a convenience does not prove that they are really glad to have it. The cost may be too great. But since it is forced upon them whether they want it or no, they naturally make use of the convenience which is the only offset to the discomfort they are in any case compelled to endure.

To motorists, and to all those who are interested in the motor industry, the contentions of this article will seem, I do not doubt, outrageous, monstrous, and absurd. These gentlemen, in all probability, do honestly believe that everything that is rapid is progressive, and everything that is lucrative is beneficial. I do not join issue with them; our points of view are too diverse for us even to understand one another. I appeal beyond and away from them to the public. I am voicing, I believe, a profound and widespread indignation which as yet has hardly found expression. The report of the Commission will serve, I hope, to concentrate and rally a general feeling at present dispersed and hardly sure of itself. We have now a Liberal Government in power. Among the weighty matters with which they have to deal, the motor tyranny may seem too unimportant to occupy their attention. Yet no question is better calculated to test the sincerity of their claim to stand for the general welfare of Society against all cliques and all partial interests. Here is a case where a minority of rich people in the pursuit of sport are inflicting on the community at large very serious damage and loss. Will a Liberal Parliament see that the grievance is remedied?

G. LOWES DICKINSON

THE NEW EGYPTIAN NATIONALISM

THE unexpected breakdown of Lord Cromer's policy in Egypt, though not yet officially admitted, is recognised by every one at all intimately acquainted with Egyptian things to be the international fact of the moment, one needing to be counted with in the region of high politics. When I say "Lord Cromer's policy," I do not, of course, allude to his financial and economic policy. This remains the solid success we have seen it, and is hardly at all affected by the political failure. But I mean that sham structure the "Veiled Protectorate," so perversely lauded for its ingenious unreality, which the storms of the last six months have wrecked and disjointed. It is time the straightforward good sense of Radical England should understand this and recognise how urgently a new departure is needed on the Nile if we are not to find ourselves in a false and dishonourable position there confessed before the world.

The Cromerian policy has gone through several distinct phases, leading up to the present catastrophe. When Sir Evelyn Baring, as he then was, arrived at Cairo from India in 1883—a year after Tel-el-Kebir—there were two contradictory policies set before him, which he was supposed to reconcile. They represented the conflicting opinions of the two sections of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet in regard to Egypt. The great Whig Lords, Hartington, Northbrook, and, timidly, Granville, with their Imperialist colleagues Mr. Childers and Mr. Chamberlain, backed as they knew themselves to be by the Tory Opposition, were for retaining Egypt, *per fas aut nefas*, on Imperial grounds as a British dependency. Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, with Sir William Harcourt and the great bulk of their Radical followers, were for fulfilling their public pledges to Europe and

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to the Egyptians of re-establishing some form of autonomous government at Cairo and at a short date of evacuating. Mr. Gladstone was personally pledged more deeply than the rest to this latter course, and he had besides the reason, all-powerful with his economic mind, that Egypt was at the time on the point of bankruptcy, and that the assumption of complete authority at Cairo would entail responsibility on England for the hundred million sterling of Egyptian debt. He made therefore an effort—I do not say an heroic effort, but still an effort—to redeem his pledges, and with so much of success that he prevented any open declaration of annexation or of a protectorate, and even went so far as to promise, through Lord Dufferin, some form of semi-constitutional government to the Egyptians in place of the real constitution of which they had been robbed.

It is almost forgotten now that in the winter of 1881-82 the Egyptians had wrung from their unwilling Khedive a real Constitution, including Parliamentary government and a responsible Ministry, which Lord Wolseley's army a year later suppressed. The Veiled Protectorate, under the guidance of an elusive but masterly British Resident, was a compromise between the two policies, or rather perhaps I should say a device by which Mr. Gladstone's Whig colleagues sought to circumvent his better intentions, since they could not get him to consent to their full plan. What they immediately wanted was to delay the withdrawal of the troops and wait a new possible opportunity of further imperial advance. They calculated, doubtless, that the money question was what would mainly influence the ultimate decision about Egypt, and that, if time could be gained and Egypt could be shown likely in a few years to become solvent, Mr. Gladstone's objections would be weakened, perhaps altogether over-ruled.

It was this last consideration that determined Lord Granville, on Lord Northbrook's recommendation, to send Sir Evelyn Baring, a member of the great London banking family and actual Finance Secretary in India, as Diplomatic Agent to Cairo. I remember well the circumstances, and how Mr. Gladstone was persuaded that Sir Evelyn was not only an able financier but also a sympathiser with the

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“native aspirations” then being encouraged under Lord Ripon’s Viceroyalty in India, and so might be entrusted with the delicate task of restoring Egypt’s constitutional life. I remember this and that all along it was as clearly understood by the rest of the world that Sir Evelyn had no intention at all of the kind, but had accepted his mission as the common Anglo-Indian one of manipulating a weak but in theory absolute Prince in financial and political interests. The last interpretation proved to be the true one of the new Consul-General’s thought, nor from the moment of his landing from India at Suez was there the least disguise of his true attitude. Lord Cromer’s sole intention, from the very outset, was to rule absolutely through an absolute Khedive’s ministers. He had never at any time the least thought of encouraging “the prudent development of Egypt’s institutions” promised in the Queen’s Speech of February 1882.

This explanation made, it is comparatively easy to follow the history of what afterwards happened. The first three years of Lord Cromer’s rule may be best described as politically “marking time.” As long as Mr. Gladstone was in office—that is to say till his Home Rule overthrow in 1886—there was always a risk of his suddenly deciding to withdraw the British garrison and leave Egypt to its own devices. To prevent this a double game was needed, that of seeming to prepare for the promised evacuation while at the same time taking no rational means to make evacuation possible. Had it really been Lord Cromer’s intention to re-establish Egyptian autonomy on a sound basis and retire, he would have insisted at the outset of his mission on replacing the then Khedive Tewfik, a weak prince, despised as such by his subjects, and for the craven part he had played as Lord Wolseley’s ally in 1882, by some other prince stronger and less obnoxious to popular opinion. Had reform been his object in any direction but that of finance, he would have called to his counsels at once the native Reform Party. Had the re-establishment of constitutional self-government been his object, he would have re-established the constitutionalists. Such objects however were not within his immediate scheme, and the contrary to

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all this was what he actually did. The Khedive Tewfik was retained and with him the old gang of Turkish pashas, men by caste interest opposed to all reform and especially opposed to constitutional experiments. For four years things were allowed to go much their own way. The finance department alone and the army were taken over seriously and dealt with with vigour. The civilian leaders of the late "rebellion," no less than the military leaders, were allowed to remain in exile. The Dufferin semi-constitution was allowed to lapse, and the despotic power of the Prince was affirmed and strengthened—with it also, of course, the power of the British Resident. Nothing whatsoever was done to prepare for evacuation, though evacuation continued to be talked of. It was a calculated waiting on events, events which did not fail to happen and were made full use of. The defeat of Hicks, the advance of the Mahdi, the despatch of Gordon to Khartoum, the Nile expedition engineered by our Whig ministers to force Mr. Gladstone's hand—thus the thing was loitered out till Mr. Gladstone was out of office and the danger of his insistence on evacuation had ceased. This was the first phase of the Cromerian policy.

Then came Lord Salisbury's accession to power, and after the brief interlude of the Drummond-Wolff mission, with its abortive attempt to arrange a British protectorate legally with the Sultan, Lord Cromer began for the first time to breathe freely and work out something of his imperialist plan. The Sultan's refusal in 1887 to ratify the Wolff convention after Queen Victoria had signed it was treated as a personal offence to Her Majesty, and decided Lord Salisbury to stay on indefinitely in Egypt. Lord Cromer was given what was called a "free hand" for the purpose. Here the Cromerian policy entered upon its second phase. Instead of merely tiding over an intention to evacuate, it was now necessary to provide solid reasons which should convert English Liberal opinion, should Mr. Gladstone return to power, to the belief that our stay in Egypt was not merely for the advantage of finance, which was slowly recovering, but also for that of the Egyptians, natives no less than foreigners, and that it would be doing these a positive

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wrong to perform promises of evacuation too rashly made and withdraw from them the guarantee of England's permanent protection. It was resolved, therefore, that at last the work of administrative reform should be seriously undertaken. And undertaken it was with all Lord Cromer's as yet unimpaired energy. The fellahin were to be gained over to a preference for British rule, and their Home Rule aspirations "killed," as they say in Ireland, "by kindness."

An almost exact counterpart and precedent for the course Lord Cromer now adopted, and which cannot but have been present to his Indian recollections, may be found in the history of the dealings of the supreme government at Calcutta with the native state of Hyderabad. Here the Nizam, finding himself heavily in debt after the Sepoy Mutiny, during which he had espoused the English cause and had acquired by so doing deep claims on English gratitude, had contracted with the Indian Government a loan of four millions sterling, giving in pledge for its repayment his two richest provinces, the Berars. These it was determined for Imperial reasons under all circumstances to keep, and in view of a possible repayment of the loan and reclamation of his pledged territory by the Nizam, a possibility guaranteed to him by treaty, it was made a settled part of the Indian policy to administer the Provinces so superlatively well that they should acquire the repute of being the happiest and most prosperous under English rule. Every measure was taken to conciliate the inhabitants and the Provinces became the show provinces of British India. And so it came about, with the result that, although twenty years later the four millions were forthcoming and offered for repayment by the Nizam's government, the retrocession of the Berars was declared to be incompatible with a humane consideration of the interests of their inhabitants, and the Provinces remain to the present day under English administration.

In pursuance of this policy, reform in Egypt was taken, as I have said, earnestly in hand, and Lord Cromer during the next few years spared no pains to gain the adhesion of the mass of the native population to an acceptance of his tutelage. The cause of the fellah was now proclaimed to

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be in an especial manner Lord Cromer's own, and the Turkish pashas of the old *régime*, whom he had at first supported and made the bulwark of his influence, were little by little discarded in favour of men less reactionary and of more pliability. An English adviser was given to the Ministry of Justice, with powers which were year by year extended, and with the good result that the native law-courts began to be reformed. The irrigation service was reorganised and everything done to favour the fellah agriculturalist and redeem him from his serfdom to the Turco-Circassian caste which had so long oppressed him. Concurrently with these improvements a Press campaign was organised both in Egypt and in England, designed to spread a knowledge of the benefits Englishmen were conferring on the Nile valley. Lord Milner, with his newspaper experience in London as sub-editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, obtained a well-paid post in the Finance Department at Cairo, and his advent was signalled by the appearance of a number of articles in various English periodicals in which English officials in Egypt gave praise in turn to each other's administrative work. Also about this date the "Mokattam" newspaper, under the able editorship of the brothers Nimr, Syrian Christians from Beyrout, was enlisted as the special vernacular organ of Lord Cromer's policy and of the British occupation. The duty of this paper was to expound in Arabic to the Egyptians the benefits conferred on them by the British Protectorate, and to refute all articles to the contrary appearing in the native Press.

The history of the freedom of the vernacular Press in Egypt needs here to be explained, for it is very important at the present moment and is being much mis-stated. Lord Cromer's friends claim a free native Press for him as part of his plan of Liberal and educational reform. This is hardly the truth. Lord Cromer during his first years at Cairo would willingly, if he could, have suppressed native newspapers altogether, or at least submitted them to a severe censorship. Indeed he has at various times of political crisis attempted to control the Arabic Press by legal means, but he has always failed to do so in any

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effective manner owing to that obstacle to his all-power, the Capitulations, which guarantee to Europeans or persons under European protection, of whatever nationality, a legal right to carry on their trades unmolested. Journalism, among other trades, it is thus impossible for the Egyptian Government, in whose name alone Lord Cromer can enforce his will, to interfere with. And, though he could legally suppress or control vernacular newspapers published by unprotected Egyptians, he could not prevent the very same newspapers from appearing the next day, uncensored, under the names of European proprietors. It was therefore no free gift he gave when he decided to allow complete liberty of the Press, but a necessity to prevent worse happening. The alternative would have been to throw all the vernacular newspapers openly into French hands, and so at that time into hands still more hostile to him. He decided therefore that all should be uncensored. This is the whole truth of the case and explains his sudden zeal for abolishing the Capitulations, this year of his unpopularity, in contradiction to his long tolerance of them.

Such was the genesis of the Press campaign we witnessed in the late eighties. On the eve of the General Election of 1892 Lord Milner crowned his patriotic work in Egypt by the publication of that very able apologia of Lord Cromer's policy and plea for continuing the British Occupation, *England in Egypt*, a book of infinite ingenuity and persuasive power, which had its desired effect. The Liberal party on its return to power was found to be converted to the idea of permanently retaining Egypt for the Egyptians' good. Which done, Lord Milner resigned his functions at the Finance Department at Cairo and was transferred to other spheres of imperial utility. Mr. Gladstone's resumption of office for the last time in 1892, with Lord Rosebery for Foreign Secretary, marks the close of the second stage of Lord Cromer's policy. Mr. Gladstone, though every circumstance was favourable for evacuation, found himself powerless to persuade his Cabinet to evacuate, and Lord Cromer's will in Egypt was definitely accepted on both sides of Downing Street as law.

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The third phase of the Cromerian policy, that of his assumption of full authority, dates from this year, and with it by a necessary law the resurrection of Egyptian Nationalism. On the 2nd of February 1892 the Khedive Tewfik died and was succeeded by a boy of eighteen, his son, the present Khedive Abbas II. Up to this point Lord Cromer's position of Masterly Resident had been a hidden one. With a Prince so weak as Tewfik and so dependent on British support, it had been easy for him to run the State machine without friction on the lines of persuasion, and to mask the fact to the Egyptians that they were being ruled by strangers. But with the new Khedive the deception was less easy. The young man educated in Europe was clever and high-spirited. He had ideas of patriotism, ideas of his own position. He came speedily into collision with his English mentor. Lord Cromer, I have always held, was in fault in the quarrel which ensued. Instead of encouraging the Prince to take his proper part in the government of the country, he used towards him methods which were practically those of force and cowed him into submission without securing his co-operation. It was like taming a young leopard with the lash. It left Lord Cromer victorious, but at the expense of his character for moderation which had been hitherto his strongest moral influence. A diplomatic cloak has been thrown over the long quarrel which has ever since continued between the two antagonists, but it is one which has deceived the English public only. In native Egypt all know how the case stands, and by so much has Lord Cromer's veiled authority been unveiled. Native opinion certainly was with the Khedive in the affair, and, though he has since lost much of his popularity through defects of character, it has not been to Lord Cromer's advantage, nor has it been any longer possible to persuade native Egypt that the decrees issued in the Khedive's name are either spontaneous or genuine. The Khedive's Ministers are known to be not his but the British Agent's, and the pretence that it is otherwise has become an ever increasing irritant to patriotic sentiment. The new Nationalism is the revolt against a sham and the expression of a deep mistrust of English designs hostile to what

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remains of Egypt's autonomy. The material prosperity enjoyed during the last ten years excites no gratitude to England for the simple reason that it is regarded as the "fattening of the ox for the slaughter." Nobody has any trust in its disinterestedness in a world of official make-believe where the misuse of administrative titles and the shuffling with authority has become habitual and avowed. The Egyptians see that they are being befooled, and every patriotic suspicion is awake. The vernacular Press reflects very faithfully this condition of mind, and newspapers are universally read even in the remotest villages of the Delta.

Several overt acts of British policy have in recent years convinced Egyptian opinion of our ill faith under the Cromerian dispensation. Among these I will cite the strange decision come to after Omdurman and Fashoda to proclaim a joint sovereignty over the Soudan for England as well as for Egypt. Lord Salisbury had declared the reconquest to be necessary in Egypt's interests. England was in the position, he said, of a "guardian acting for his ward who was a minor." The hard work of the campaign had been entirely Egyptian, the English army at the last moment coming in to play an ornamental part rather than a real one. Yet the Soudan was practically annexed to England only, while the heavy yearly charges for its maintenance have been imposed on the Egyptian Budget,—all this by the "guardian acting for his ward." Again,—how has the *entente* with France displayed itself? The Egyptians remember the seizure of Tunis in 1881. They know the French designs on Morocco to-day. They consider that a bargain of purchase and sale has been made regarding them. This they find emphasised by the constantly increasing power usurped by English-men in the administration, and the despotic rôle played yearly more and more openly by Lord Cromer at Cairo—"Are we then," they say, "to go the way of French North Africa and be wholly absorbed by England?" There are ample grounds for a patriotic revival in all this without the fiction put forward by our Foreign Office,—in this copying the Quai d'Orsay—of fanaticism and a panislamic propaganda.

As to "Panislamism" I think I may say without boasting

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that I know more about it than perhaps any Englishman—certainly more than Lord Cromer. I know its strength and its weakness. I know its fanatical side, and I know its side of reform and progress. I know what its value is in Arabia, in India, at Constantinople and in the Sahara no less than in Egypt. I have been for the last twenty-five years on intimate terms with several of its chief exponents. I sympathise with it and in its Liberal sense I wish it well. My words therefore may have weight when I affirm that the current talk about it, as applied to the Egyptian movement, of which at the present moment Mustafa Kamel is the most able advocate, is mere diplomatic mystification. There is next to no connection in reality between the fellahin of the Delta and the great fanatical brotherhood of the Sahara, the Senoussia, with which the French are in difficulties farther west. Nor are the fellahin fanatically affected by any propaganda from Constantinople. They are not a whit more fanatics than are our own churchmen or nonconformists in England, far less so than our Orangemen at Belfast. It is not in their blood. In Egypt there is no hatred for religion's sake either towards Christians or Jews as such, or even race enmity except at Alexandria, always a turbulent half-European city criminally inclined.

The Sultan's position in Egypt is quite easy to understand and is due to no special propaganda. He is in the first place the legal sovereign of the country, and enjoys with the Mohammedans a certain religious prestige as "Emir el Mumenin," Commander of the Faithful, and especially as guardian of the Holy Places, Mecca and Medina, and protector of the pilgrimage. Nobody, however, in Egypt of fellah origin has the least love of the Turks or the smallest wish to be administered as subject of an Ottoman province. The educated classes know perfectly well that the present *régime* of Constantinople would mean for them a complete suppression of personal liberty, and in the provinces the memory of the Turco-Circassian tyranny is still a tradition of evil.—But, as the saying is, "The man in the jaws of the lion calls out to the tiger for help"; and in the grip of English officialdom Egypt may well cast her eyes at times in the direction of Constantinople. It must however be

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clearly understood that modern Egyptian Nationalism has nothing further from its plan than to restore Egypt to the administrative position of a Turkish Pashalik. What Egyptian patriotism sees in its connection with the Ottoman Empire is a guarantee of a legal kind against annexation by a European Power. It knows that Egypt's administrative independence of Constantinople is guaranteed by treaties and runs not the smallest danger of being touched, and that the practical enemy is not and cannot be the Sultan except as the possible accomplice of Europe. Its attitude is not altogether unlike that of French Canadian patriotism towards the English crown. Canada has no notion of surrendering her home rule, but she fears annexation to the United States. What Mustafa Kamel and the Nationalists want is Home Rule for Egypt under the Ottoman Crown. Absolute independence they would perhaps prefer, but they look at this for the present as too dangerous a freedom.

As for Mustafa Kamel himself, I know him personally and I have read a good deal that he has published, and I have for him a high respect as an honest and consistent patriot. He is also an astonishingly able man with great political insight and power of eloquent expression. He has been reproached with changing his political connections. As quite a young man he was a devoted friend and adherent of the Khedive's. But the Khedive failed him and failed in his patriotic duty. He was next an ardent friend of France as long as France affected to befriend liberty in Egypt. He has since advocated the Ottoman connection in the sense I have described. He appeals now to the English Liberal party. But all his advocacy has had the same basis, under changing conditions, that of gaining for his country friends; that of trying to awake in Europe some sympathy with a liberal cause worthy of its assistance; that of reminding Englishmen of their promises so publicly made of restoring "Egypt to the Egyptians." I am certain he is worthy of all the help English Radical Members of Parliament can give him.

The last year of Lord Cromer's paternal despotism in Egypt has been a terrible awakening for those who saw in it a supreme example of what England could do to make a

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subject nation happy. His quarrel with the Sultan, which brought our Government within an ace of war on a point where we were in all Egyptian opinion wholly in the wrong, has revealed the unsound political foundation on which his administrative success was based. His last act of terrorism at Denshawai has revealed the necessity all despotisms, however paternal, are under of fortifying themselves at times by violent wrong. What then must we do? Are we still to follow Lord Cromer's dangerous lead? Are we to put down by force once more in 1907, as we did in 1882, the national aspirations of the Egyptians? Lord Cromer has called for reinforcements. Are we to gag the vernacular Press? Lord Cromer asks power for that purpose to modify the Capitulations. Are we still further to Anglicise the administration? Lord Cromer, it is said, contemplates it. Are we to turn Egypt into a province of the British Empire? I believe that to be internationally impossible. I have always maintained, and I maintain still more strongly to-day, that Europe will not consent to this. France may consent, but not Germany without a European war. Egypt's position on the Suez Isthmus is too world-wide a necessity to the Mediterranean States for this. Short of a partition of the Ottoman Empire, annexation is beyond our power.

What are we then to do? Annexation is the only logical step forward of the Cromerian *régime*, and we cannot step forward. Fortunately, Mr. Gladstone's alternative and more generous policy is open to us. We can restore self-government in Egypt, which we destroyed in 1882. We can retrace our steps and begin again with Lord Dufferin's programme. All the elements of a new and more enduring success lie there. Nothing would be easier than to establish to-morrow, under really sympathetic guidance, a true native Government constitutionally endowed; but we want a man like—whom shall say?—Sir William Wedderburn to begin it. Nothing need be touched in regard to the financial management. That would remain according to existing arrangements international. But the civil administration must be nationalised without delay. English *advice* would still readily be taken by Nationalist Ministers, but no longer English *commands*. Let an English garrison remain

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if you will at Alexandria to prevent trouble there, domestic or foreign. It is a point of danger. Let England still garrison the Suez Canal ; if that be considered a necessity of Empire. But let the rest of Lord Cromer's despotic apparatus give place to better and more liberal things. Let Lord Cromer himself—in all possible honour—patch up the rent garment of his Veiled Protectorate and go. Heap on him all conceivable rewards. Carve his name, as that of our greatest Pro-consul, in letters of gold at the Imperial Institute. Raise statues to him at the Stock Exchange, on every Bourse in Europe. He deserves it all. He deserves a statue even in Egypt, for he has saved her from bankruptcy and made her rich. Only let him yield into more liberal hands the task he has misunderstood of making the Egyptians free, of persuading them that their happiness is bound up in English rule on Anglo-Indian models. He has failed to make them forget their nationality. Let him depart from their shores in peace.

I know this to be liberal Egypt's common thought to-day. It ought to be liberal England's this autumn. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Sir Edward Grey should remember that the Queen's speech of 1882 promised to Egypt "the prudent development of her institutions." This promise has not yet begun to be redeemed.

WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT

WAS WEST INDIAN SLAVERY HARMLESS?

IN the *Independent Review* for June 1904 there is an article by Miss May Gaunt entitled "An Old Slave Book." No doubt there are more of these plantation ledgers extant, and some would be well worth unearthing:—for a book-keeper in old days did not always confine himself to mere figures, but left marginal notes of human interest.

I have before me a small book entitled *Jamaica Plantership*, by Benjamin M'Mahon (eighteen years employed in the planting line in that Island). London: Effingham Wilson, Bishopsgate Street, 1839. The author did not go out to the British West Indies as others did in those days—as to an El Dorado—with the dream of coming back, if not a West Indian Nabob, at least a rich man. He says :

"On the 28th of July, in the year 1818, I left my native country, Ireland, as a volunteer in the patriot service of the Columbian army, for the purpose of assisting in the liberation of the South Americans from the Spanish yoke. We sailed for the island of Margueritta."

After dwelling on the "rank cowardice" of the Spanish troops and the entire success of the patriot army, he proceeds :

"At the end of this campaign we were so dissatisfied with our treatment by the commanders that many of us threw up our engagements, and became

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scattered about. I, together with about two hundred others, determined to go to the West Indies ; and we sailed for Jamaica in the beginning of June. I must mention that while I was in Margueritta I had an opportunity of seeing nearly all the inhabitants who had formerly been slaves, and who had only been made free a few months before I got there. I believe I can safely say that I never saw one, either man or woman, that had not their bodies covered with scars—their faces, necks, arms, legs and back were all marked with cuts crossing each other. . . . The people about forty years old were grey-headed, emaciated, worn-down and often deformed, occasioned by the barbarous cruelty of the inhuman Spaniards, calling themselves Christians.”

On arriving in Jamaica our author became a book-keeper. It may be desirable to explain that in Jamaica the absentee owner was represented by an attorney (not a lawyer, but a “civil attorney”) *i.e.*, one who held a power of attorney to act for the owner, one man so acting for possibly as many as thirty estates. Under him on each estate would be an overseer (or manager) and one or more book-keepers, equivalent to English farm bailiffs or foremen. In the Leeward Islands the head man was (and is) called the manager, and those under him overseers, the term “book-keeper” not being used.

Our author remarks that in those days no man could succeed in the planting line but one whose heart was hard as adamant :

“On my arrival in Jamaica, a gentleman named Burke, who kept a druggist’s shop in Kingston, got me a berth in the planting line. I was employed at Bloxburgh Coffee Plantation, in the Port Royal Mountains : there were nearly 300 slaves upon it. The first morning I went to the field I was accompanied by another book-keeper. I observed an extensive gang weeding young coffee, and two ferocious-looking fellows, with long whips, well tarred, walking

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from right to left behind the gang, who were almost naked. These two men were the drivers. Occasionally they flogged all hands to make them work faster, and if any one dared to put up his hand to stop the lash, woe betide him. He was sure to be taken out and stretched on the ground, and there flogged without mercy.

“Several of the slaves had iron bands about their necks, and were chained together in pairs with long chains, and were made to work in this way from morning till night. I was not long in detecting the folly as well as cruelty of this system, because those that were in irons, although quite unable to make use of their proper strength, were compelled to work equal to those that had free use of their limbs, and any one may see that, in this way, although the poor creatures that were loaded with irons were compelled to work beyond their strength, those that had no chains on did less work than they might. Yet this plan was pursued to the very end of slavery. The cries and groans of these persecuted people were so heart-rending, and so sickened me with the horrible scene of cruelty, that I could not refrain from expressing what was gushing at my heart. I observed to the book-keeper, that if I had a thousand men such as I had left behind me in South America, I would hang every rascal who carried a whip to mangle the flesh of his fellow-creatures or the monster who gave such directions. . . . After some time had passed, my feelings became a good deal blunted by seeing these things so often, and I could not help myself, being poor and unprotected, and my remarks never did any good. My usual routine of duty on Bloxburgh was to rise every morning at or before four o'clock a.m., and go straight to the field and call the list of the slaves in the gang by the light of a torch ; and if any one was absent when his name was called, a most unmerciful flogging was his portion. If he happened to have on clean clothes, although they might be only rags, he was sure to be laid down in the filthiest place the driver could find, and there receive

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his flogging so as to create a laugh ; this was done especially to women, and was the general practice through Jamaica."

All Mr. M'Mahon's experiences were in Jamaica. At Harmony Hall Estate, he graphically describes how an owner of a "felling gang," named Steel, had a slave girl of fourteen, belonging to a free coloured woman with whom he lived, flogged for spite, for an hour and a half. She received much more than 300 lashes, with a fatal result. He concludes :

"This murder took place close to the residence of two magistrates, but as they were perhaps doing quite as bad themselves no notice was taken of this."

Of the many estates Mr. M'Mahon was engaged on, the greater number bear a melancholy likeness to each other in the sadness and badness of their story, but here we have a brighter picture of Spring Garden Estate, St. George's.¹

"The overseer of this estate, Mr. Gladwidge, was one of the mildest and most amiable men I ever met with ; he was deeply respected and beloved by every slave upon the place—he was, in fact, altogether too good to be placed in the society of planters. He was always in good humour, and there was no flogging on the estate by his orders—whatever took place in that way was by the drivers or book-keepers. His kindness and humanity to the sick was most exemplary. He was at length removed from hence to Petersfield, in St. Thomas-in-the-East, to the mortification and regret of white and black. Mr. Gladwidge was succeeded by Mr. Robert Grey Kirkland, a gentleman of considerable abilities, a clever planter, a strict disciplinarian, but judicious and humane in his treatment."

¹ St. George's is one of the parishes of Jamaica ; in this island the parish gives the name to the district.

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My last extract from *Jamaica Plantership* shall be the negroes' own representation of their hard case on one of the estates :

“ Poor nega da dead we hungry—poor nega cut up worsa than cow—buckra have pity 'pon dum ting, but him kill poor nega—we flesh belongs only to whip, and we blood belongs to the ground—whip when we complain of hungry—whip when we no get field before day—whip when we tired—whip when we look cross—whip when we laugh—whip when we complain of busha to massa—whip when we complain of book-keeper to busha—whip when we go to hot-house¹ sick—whip every Monday for dem have sore foot—Buckra give poor nega whip for medicine—whip for make him weak to go to hot-house—whip to make him leave hot-house and go to work and whip to make him work more than him 'trenchth able. Buckra make whip contradiction, same like the punch him drink, when him take rum for make strong—wata for make weak—limes for make sour, and sugar for make sweet. Buckra make whip do every ting, but make life, and that it no able to do, but it make plenty dead. We pray to God to take poor nega, before buckra kill him done.”

I was myself a West Indian sugar planter in the sixties in Montserrat, Leeward Islands, and one day said to my overseer : “ Was slavery as bad as it is represented ? ” He replied : “ You know Hale's estate ? ” I said “ Yes.” He rejoined : “ The manager of that estate killed negro after negro and nothing was said ; he cut down a favourite cedar tree and lost his situation.” In examining the old Island magisterial records I came across such entries as these. I quote from memory, and alter the names :

“ 1st September, 1786. Present : the Honorables Jacob Smith, Theobald Brabant and Eustace Brown. Cudgo, the property of Hon. Jas. Welsh, was brought

¹ The building in which the sick were put.

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before the above, accused of stealing—found guilty and sentenced to be hung at Fort Gut. He was appraised at £18, which was ordered to be paid to the owner.”

It was more than suspected that the above was found a wickedly profitable way of getting rid of worn-out negroes. One can hardly suppose that pilfering would usually be treated under slavery with anything more than an ordinary flogging.

“Barzey was found guilty of a crime against a white woman and sentenced to be burnt at Fort Gut.”

“Sambo was accused of stealing; found *not* guilty—ordered to be flogged and discharged.”

A friend has favoured me with the following from the same source :

“1729. A negro slave named Quashy sentenced to be hanged and body to be burnt for assaulting and dangerously wounding Matthew Dowdy with an iron bill; suspected of killing another negro too. Told the Deputy Provost Marshall he had killed three men and would kill all the whites he could before he would submit to be a slave. Valued at £45, to be paid owner from public stock.”

“12th Octr., 1728. Two negroes belonging to Dominic Trant, named Andrew and George, charged with stealing several turkeys from the house of Peter Lee, confessed upon trial, but Andrew, being by common fame the most notorious offender, was sentenced to be burnt alive on Monday, the 14th, at Locust Valley, Plantation of Dominic Trant. Valued at £45.”

“1777. Negro sentenced to 39 lashes and to have one ear cut off for stealing fowel and wearing apparel value 20s.”¹

¹ The terrible severity of the English Criminal Law less than a century ago should, however, be remembered.

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Writing at an earlier date, Sir Hans Sloane speaks of the burning of negroes over slow fires, "whereby their sufferings are extravagant." Bryan Edwards, in his *History of Jamaica*, describes the starving to death in cages of two negroes accused of rebellion in 1760. In our Island the negroes had a refrain which ran :

" Haul him along
 ' Massa me no dead yet '
Haul him along !"

It was stated that on a certain occasion the negroes on an estate began to die of a fell disease. The manager in his rage swore that the next who so sickened should be hauled along into the sea, by cattle, like a dead steer. This threat was actually carried out whilst a man was still alive—hence the words of the song.

It is not easy to determine how, or exactly when, British West Indian slavery originated, nor whether the first slaves were white or black ; prisoners of war, criminals sent out from England, or imported negroes.¹ It would seem that sugar-canes and negroes were introduced into Barbadoes about the same time, between 1625 and 1650. In the early part of the eighteenth century labour was in great demand in Virginia and the Carolinas. A system of "apprenticeship" was established, whereby labourers, of both sexes, were engaged in England and carried to America for terms of years. It is to be feared that, to a great extent, this was little better than kidnapping, and after a few years it was discontinued. A large number were shipped from Liverpool. It is not quite clear what part the Corporation took in the matter, but the Municipal records contain a great many entries of the men and women so shipped.² It is known that white boys were stolen in

¹ The Bodleian Library contains a petition presented to Parliament in 1659 from "Marcellus Rivers and Oxenbridge Fayle, gentlemen, on behalf of themselves and three score more Free Born Englishmen" sold (uncondemned) into (Barbados) slavery.

² Liverpool Municipal Records, Chap. 1, 1702-1727, by Sir James A. Picton, F.S.A.

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the streets of Bristol for export to the West Indian Plantations.

In the island which I know best, Montserrat, the early settlers—probably largely Cromwell's Irish prisoners of war—would appear to have become prosperous yeomen; the cultivated part of the island being divided into small farms. For a mile or two on the road to the North out of the town at mid-day, a hospitable house with a punch bowl on the table might be found at a distance of every two hundred yards. It is noteworthy, too, that in 1776 a local tax was imposed on billiard tables. One gets the impression of a prosperous pleasant life, and it may be in those early days the white farmer undertook some of the agricultural work himself. In one respect these early inhabitants contrasted very favourably with those who have come after them; for it is known that when the first coloured child was brought into the town of Plymouth, Montserrat, it was thought a public disgrace.

With regard to the effect of slavery—my father-in-law, who lived in Montserrat before and after emancipation, told me that a negro in an average situation was more of a human being after he had been a slave seven years than when he first landed from Africa, *but it was the whites that it demoralised*. It is undoubted that no one class of human beings can be trusted to have uncontrolled power over any other class of human beings. In that day—as in this—a false notion was current that the self-interest of the master would be a sufficient protection for the slave. In accordance with this not unnatural view, an eminently humane writer, whose pamphlet, published in 1794, had a circulation of at least twenty thousand copies, urged English people to do without sugar so that the slave *trade* might come to an end, hoping that the planters, being deprived of a fresh supply of slaves, would treat the negroes they already had better. But alas! as a matter of fact the worst records of cruelty I have come across in the British West Indies were as late as 1808—after the abolition of the slave trade, and the recorder says that the horrors he narrates in the British West Indies were being exceeded in the Dutch. In one of the latter he handed water to a negro who was hung up by a hook in his

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side to die slowly. Even this question has its comical aspect, for another pamphleteer, in 1794, describes how, despairing of influencing British ladies to do without sugar on grounds of humanity, he described to them the filthy way in which the sugar was trodden into the hogsheads by the negroes, and concluded that their consequent disgust had had more effect than any humane feelings.

The household servants were often—especially the women—well treated, and in physical comfort it may be doubted whether a number of them gained by emancipation. With the field labourers the case was far different. Apart from the fact that, in the households, personal relations would arise between master and slave, the conduct of any individual there would be subject to the criticism of his fellows, whereas—negro evidence not being allowed in the courts—on the plantations brutality was comparatively unchecked. The most destitute of slaves were those in the “Jobbing Gangs” (in Jamaica called “Felling Gangs”), companies of negroes let out by their owners on hire. And when we remember that of slaves in general it was gravely discussed whether it was most profitable to work them to death and buy others, or to treat them sufficiently well for their lives to be prolonged, we can well understand how hard was the fate of these slaves in particular. On one occasion my father-in-law employed one of the gangs to carry sulphur by moonlight from the Montserrat Soufriere to the coast for shipment. Being an abolitionist, he *paid* them for the work ; and it is interesting to learn that when emancipation came to them, these negroes went to him to express their gratitude for this kindness. Among the cruellest of practices was that of exposing almost dying negroes in the market and selling them to some speculator who would take his chance of making a profit if one man in twelve should recover. In Montserrat it is recorded that one-half of the negro children died, and that the slave population decreased by one-eighth in fifteen years in spite of importations ; these importations amounting to 58,000 persons a year for the West Indies and American continent. As it is a theory still in vogue that the white man’s relations to native races

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should be left to be settled on the spot, I would call attention to the fact that neither in the West Indies nor in the United States was emancipation brought about locally. I was informed by my father-in-law that previous to the event he never could have believed that it would have come to pass in the British West Indies without bloodshed. He told me he was accustomed to hear the planters at their dinner-tables, their negroes behind their chairs, declaring "the king may free the negroes, but we will never free them," and giving as a toast—"Damnation to Wilberforce." Yet, as he said, the negroes "went to sleep slaves (July 31st, 1834) and woke up free men (August 1st)." I long ago concluded that the payment of compensation to the owners was an action of justice and wisdom.

An article on Slavery could scarcely be complete without speaking of the Slave Trade. This, of course, was by treaty a British monopoly to the Spanish Possessions as well as to our own.

Liverpool, Bristol, Lancaster and London were the principal ports; the profits were very large of this, the "Ebony" trade as it was called (in our time "Blackbirding"), and at one time one-fifth of our mercantile marine was engaged in it. So much were Liverpool and Bristol dominated by this that both places returned members to Parliament in the planter interest; I expect, Lancaster likewise. On one occasion an actor was hissed on the Liverpool stage, and he retorted "You hiss me—you hiss John Palmer. There is not a brick in your dirty town but is laid in a negro's blood." I am indebted to the authors and publishers of *Liverpool from 1775 to 1800* for a copy of a Slave Bill of Lading;¹ to a friend in Liverpool for an old Merchants' "Copy Letter" book from which I give a letter of directions to one of their Captains for the "all round" Slaving voyage, and for the copy of an "Account Sale" of cargo of slaves.

¹ The Librarian of the city of Bristol has kindly furnished me with particulars of the "Manifest" of the slaver "Briggin," but the document is quite too long for insertion here.

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SALES OF 268 NEGRO SLAVES

IMPORTED IN THE SHIP *AFRICAN*, CAPTAIN THOMAS TRADER,
FROM MALEMBA, ON THE ACCT. AND RISQUE OF MESSRS.
JOHN COLE AND CO., OWNERS OF THE SAID SHIP, MERCHANTS
IN LIVERPOOL.

<i>To Whom Sold.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Women.</i>	<i>Boys.</i>	<i>Girls.</i>	<i>Total.</i>	<i>Price.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
By James Fisher . . .	—	—	1	—	1	. . .	35	0	0
" John Miller . . .	—	—	1	—	1	. . .	35	0	0
" Augustus Valtette . .	—	—	1	—	1	. . .	40	0	0
" George Richards . .	—	—	1	—	1	. . .	35	0	0
" Ditto . . .	—	—	1	—	1	. . .	35	0	0
" Paplay & Wade . .	103	26	67	34	230	. . .	7820	0	0
" Chambers & Mead . .	5	—	2	1	8	. . .	296	0	0
" Sloop <i>Two Brothers</i> .	—	—	6	—	6	. . .	204	0	0
" Monsr. Fontanelle . .	—	—	—	2	2	@ £36	72	0	0
" John Darey . . .	—	—	2	—	2	@ £30	60	0	0
" Ditto . . .	4	3	2	3	12	@ £35	420	0	0
" Alexan. Forceston . .	—	1	—	1	2	sickly	30	0	0
" Sold at Vendue . .	—	—	1	—	1	C't to act for	—	—	—
	112	30	85	41	268		9082	0	0

<i>CHARGES, viz.—</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To Cash paid Import Duty on 268 Slaves at 10s. and Bond 5s.	134	5	0
To ditto paid the Dr. his head money on ditto at 1s.	13	8	0
To ditto paid Captain Trader, his Coast Commission at £4 per 104 on £9,082 gross sales	349	6	2
To my Commission, at 5% on the gross sales	454	2	0
	951	1	2
To Messrs. John Cole & Co., owners of the <i>African</i> , in account current for	£8130	18	10

Errors excepted.

Kingston, in Jamaica, 20th September, 1764.

per WM. BOYD.

WAS WEST INDIAN SLAVERY HARMLESS?

The Bill of Lading is as follows :—

Marked on the right buttock 0

“Shipped by the grace of God, in good order and well conditioned by James ——¹ in and upon the Good Ship called the *Mary Borough*, whereof is Master, under God, for this present voyage, Captain David Morton, and now riding at Anchor at the Barr of Senegal, and by God's grace bound for Georgey, in South Carolina, to say, twenty-four prime slaves, six prime women slaves, being marked and numbered as in the margin, and are to be delivered, in the like good order and well conditioned, at the aforesaid Port of Georgia, South Carolina (the danger of the Seas and Mortality only excepted) unto Messrs. Broughton and Smith, or to their Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Slaves at the Rate of Five Pounds sterling per head at delivery, Primage and Average accustomed —In witness whereof, the Master or Purser of the said Ship hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading, all of this tenor and date ; the one of which three bills being accomplished the other two to stand void.

“And so God send the good ship to her desired Port in safety. Amen.

“Dated in Senegal, 1st February, 1766.

“DAVID MORTON ”.

The manuscript letter, dated from Liverpool, March 8th, 1734, is addressed to Captain Richard Cooper.

“Having appointed you commander of our ship y Angola we give you the following orders to be observed : —Wth the first fair wind you must proceed to Moiumba on y coast of Africa & if on your arrival there you can, wth y spending a few days, purchase a hundred tons of Redwood or as much as you can stow it not to incommode your slaving we would have you do it & also what teeth you can meet wth ; thence you must make the best of your way to Loango,

¹ Name illegible.

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Melimba or Cabenda to dispose of y Cargo of goods we have shipt for Negroes & we leave it to you to fix at any of y above places as you find it best for our interest. When you have finished your trade on y coast proceed directly for the Island of Barbados & there apply to Messrs. Morecroft & Lassels and if they can sell all or any part of your Negroes at an agreeable price deliver them to them ; with what they leave you go down to Antigua & apply to Mr. John Richardson agent for Mr. Charles Goore to whom you must deliver them to be disposed of by him for our acct^{ts} and in our letter to him w^{ch} you have he will find our full directions concerning y sale of 'em and y loading of your ship home, w^{ch} Letter we have left open for your perusal in order to govern yourself by it. When your ship is loaden with sugar & cotton at Antigua you must make y best of your way to this place & we hope to see you here in due time. . . . As your stay in y West Indies may probably be long, we would have you on your arrival discharge as many of your hands as you can spare in order to ease us in wages. . . . Keep a good guard and watch upon your Negroes to prevent their rising and advise us by all opportunities of your proceedings.

"In case of your death the chief mate must succeed you in y command of y ship and y chief mate & Doctor jointly in y disposal of y Cargo. We are, wishing you health and a good voyage,

"Yor Lovg Friends,

"SAML OGDEN

"JNO HARDMAN

"FOSTER CUNLIFFE

"P.S. Be sure to purchase no old slaves on any acct and none less than four foot or thereabouts if you can help it. Wherever any of your Negroes are sold you must receive your coast commissions 4 in every 104 and the Doctor his head money 12d. per head ; and whoever takes up the ship, must furnish you with money to pay wages and other necessary disbursements

WAS WEST INDIAN SLAVERY HARMLESS?

and pay as much wages as the men are willing to receive we allow you for priviledge two or three slaves the chief mate one which he is to choose out of y first fifty purchased or y last fifty, we also allow y Doctor two slaves which I suppose he will take goods to purchase.

“SAML OGDEN

“JOHN HARDMAN

“FOSTER CUNLIFFE”.

It is little known how largely negro slavery was introduced into England. Only recently the public-house near St. Nicholas Church, Liverpool, at which slave auctions took place, has been pulled down. The following advertisements for runaway and other slaves are from London and Liverpool newspapers. In the *Tatler* for 1709 a black, 12 years of age, fit to wait on a gentleman, is offered for sale at Derrin's Coffee House, in Finch Lane, near the Royal Exchange, London. In *Williamson's Advertiser* (Liverpool), of August 20th, 1756, a notice announced the hull of the sloop “Molly” to be sold by the candle at 1 o'clock noon at R. Williamson's shop, adding: “N.B. Three young men slaves to be sold at the same time.” Facing it in the next column we read: “Wanted immediately, a negro boy. He must be of a deep black complexion, and a lively, humane disposition, with good features, and not above 15, nor under 12 years of age. Apply to the printer.” In the same paper for June 24th, 1757, we read the following: “For sale immediately. One stout negro young fellow, about 20 years of age, that has been employed for 12 months on board a ship, and is a very serviceable hand. And a negro boy, about 12 years old, that has been used since September last to wait at a table, and is of a very good disposition; both warranted sound. Apply to Robert Williamson, Broker.” On the 8th of September, 1758, the following appeared in the same paper:—“Run away from Dent, in Yorkshire, on Monday, the 28th August last, Thomas Anson, a negro man, about 5 ft. 6 ins. high, aged 20 years and upwards, and broad set. Whoever will bring the said man back to Dent, or give any information that he may be had again, shall receive a

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handsome reward from Mr. Edmund Sill, of Dent ; or Mr. David Kenyon, merchant, in Liverpool." In 1765, we have another specimen from the same source :—"To be sold by Auction at George's Coffee House, betwixt the hours of six and eight o'clock, a very fine negro girl, about eight years of age, very healthy, and hath been some time from the coast." On the authority of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1764 it is estimated that there were then 80,000 negro slaves in London. It will be said, But surely slavery was never legalised in England ? Technically this may be true, but hardly even so, as the following will evidence :—"In 1763 one John Rice was hanged for forgery at Tyburn, and among his effects sold by auction (by the authorities) after his execution was a negro boy, who fetched £32."¹ William Blake (who speaks elsewhere of being waited on by black "servants" at a friend's house in London) includes in his *Songs of Innocence*, published 1798, a sympathetic poem entitled "The Little Black Boy," which is of interest in this connection.

The fact that the poor, old, or worn-out negro slaves in England fared as badly as their fellows in the tropics, in to them a much worse climate, is evident from the Journal of Thomas Wilkinson, a Cumberland member of the Society of Friends, who went to London in "fifth month, 1785." He says :—"On our way a poor negro was lying ; we threw some copper into his hat and were passing forward, but observing him not draw his hat near him, Elihu Robinson saying 'I cannot go on yet,' we made nearer inspection, and found him we believed a-dying ! We called the likeliest persons we saw and asked them to take him to a hospital. In the dark heap of wretchedness, the almost naked miserable negro prostrate at many a corner, the first glance of a stranger hardly conceives a human being. Much it takes from the glory of London."²

J. MARSHALL STURGE

¹ *History of Liverpool Privateers*, by Goner Williams, pp. 475 and 479.

² Thos. Wilkinson's MSS. Journal—never published.

THE GENIUS OF WILLIAM MORRIS

(AN ADDRESS TO THE ART WORKERS' GUILD)

TO speak of the genius of William Morris is in one way easy, because the matter is so rich. The copiousness of Morris' genius overflowed almost every kind of human activity. It extended far beyond the boundaries of any single profession, even the profession of architecture, which in his view, as I need hardly remind you, was the mistress-art of which all other arts were the servants. Into so rich a field it is impossible to enter at any point without finding an abundant harvest to bear away.

Yet in another way it is most difficult. How shall we speak fitly about genius if we do not possess genius ourselves? We may admire and love it: but can we be sure that we understand it? Can we have any confidence that the account we attempt to give of it will not be so imperfect as to be misleading? Great artists live a life apart, into which others cannot fully enter. This is so with the artist in one specific kind, the great poet or painter or musician. It is no less true when, as was the case with Morris, their productive energy was not confined to the ordinary individual limit, but was directed from many sides towards a common social end. For the art to which Morris applied his genius was co-extensive with human life.

Yet it is in the single word of architecture that, if anywhere, the keynote is to be found to that multiform yet single and simple genius. I may best occupy the few minutes which you place at my disposal by setting forth and commending to your attention this one point. If we grasp it firmly, we shall be, I think, on the right path towards the true appreciation of his genius, and perhaps

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even beyond this, towards the true appreciation of human life itself.

Morris was perhaps the most remarkable personality which England produced in his generation, or in the generation which has followed his. He was a poet, a designer, a manufacturer, and a socialist: in all these fields the impress of his genius has profoundly affected the world. We are not yet far enough away from him to judge of the permanent place which he will take in history. But to one who knew him intimately in his later years and who has made a careful study of his life and work, the lapse of years, so far, only tends to make his figure larger and his achievement more impressive.

Morris differed from other men of genius and accomplishment in two ways. First, he had beliefs of his own, distinct, coherent, and fertile, with regard to the relation of art to life. Secondly, he put these beliefs consistently to the test of practice. The two qualities most admirable in him were those of simplicity and courage. He never became involved in a mist of theory; and he never divorced his belief from his action.

Thus, while he is known in this country, and beyond this country also, among students of literature as a poet; among artists as a designer and decorator; and among politicians as a socialist and revolutionary, to those who really knew him his life is seen to have been directed throughout to a single end and inspired by a single purpose. That purpose was constructive and organic. It was the reconstitution of art as a function of life, and the reconstitution of life as a perfect whole. Art and life, according to his belief, had since the end of the medieval period gone further and further apart from one another: and the result was that both had gone desperately wrong. Without art life ceased to be of value, because it lost the two qualities that make it valuable, beauty and happiness. Removed from life, art became dead. Thus the world had strayed on to a false course, and could only recover itself by a reorganisation of life which should reinstate, in his own celebrated formula, art by the people and for the people, a joy to the maker and to the user.

THE GENIUS OF WILLIAM MORRIS

Morris was not himself a professional architect. He served, after he left the University of Oxford, an apprenticeship in an architect's office—that of Street, the chief exponent in England of that revived Gothic of which you may see a noble example close to where we now are, in the Courts of Justice. But for reasons which may be found set out at large in his biography, he did not pursue that career. He became a designer and decorator. He studied and practised, successively or concurrently, nearly all the arts subsidiary to architecture. For he found that they all, like the mistress-art itself to which they were subordinate, had become debased. He set himself to rediscover and reinstate them. In the course of doing so he became a manufacturer, working in the decorative materials of painted windows and mural decoration, furniture, metal and glass wares, painted tiles, cloth and paper wall-hangings, embroideries, jewellery, printed cottons, woven and knotted carpets, dyes, silk damasks, tapestries, written and printed books. Examples of his work in a number of these kinds are before us. Many of these specific arts he had practically to create afresh. He touched none that he did not adorn and endow with new vitality. His life as a producer and manufacturer was devoted to picking up dropped and broken threads, that he might hand down to his successors something of a living tradition.

This he did ; and there is no designer or decorative manufacturer now alive who is not consciously or unconsciously influenced by his work. Even the reaction which in certain matters he provoked is only another aspect of his influence. But the object which in his mind lay behind all this was larger and more simple : it was not only to pick up the broken threads but to recombine them ; and thus, through the arts, to reconstitute Art.

His genius was organic, structural, constituent : in one word, it was the genius of architecture. He sought to destroy nothing except what was in its own nature destructive. His was not one of those eclectic minds which are disposed to compromise, which attempt a futile reconciliation of things in their essence inconsistent, and which can hold two opposite doctrines because they do

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not believe very much in either. He desired to make art consistent with itself and with life. He early obtained that central vision of things which is the rarest of divine gifts : from the centre he looked all round ; he acted here or there, shifting from one point to another as circumstances impelled or as his own liking suggested. But the varying fields of his activity were all parts of a single radiating design.

Thus his limitations caused him no embarrassment. He worked and lived in the spirit of the ancient saying, "To every living thing God has given a separate wisdom of its own : and to do these things thus is my wisdom." In his view of the world and of art he was full of personal likes and dislikes—that was part of his fascination—but he knew what he did like exactly, and did it constantly. He could find no satisfaction in many works of art which the general opinion of the world has considered great—in St. Paul's Cathedral, or in Raphael's cartoons, or in the system of Parliamentary government, or in the accumulation of private wealth. Let those of us who do admire these things look to it that we derive from them such joy and happiness as he derived from the objects of his admiration : let us see to it that our art is, as his was, the life of our life.

The architectural quality, the sense of design, the constructive impulse, was as dominant in Morris the poet and Morris the socialist as it was in Morris the craftsman. For these three were one. In handicraft his whole life was spent in manufacture and decoration as applied to architecture ; in the making beautiful the houses in which men live, whether for work or play or rest, for enjoyment or worship. In poetry his object and his achievement were precisely the same ; to make beautiful a house of the imagination, built up not in stone and wood, in carving and painting and applied ornament, but in words and music. Exactly the same thing is true of his object, if not of its attainment, in the later years when he made the organised life of mankind the matter of his art. In his earlier years he had found it impossible to make men's houses beautiful, because there was something amiss with the arts of building and decoration. In middle life he found that a palace of

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poetry was useless to live in unless it sprang, as naturally as a flower, out of an actually beautiful world. When he had won fame both as craftsman and as poet, he found that what was wrong was not the beauty of the world nor the skill of the craftsman, but the wretched life that men thought they were forced to live, or thought they chose to live, in a world that was meant for their happiness, and that their own obstinate folly made unhappy and ugly. The title of the *Earthly Paradise*, which Morris gave to his largest work in poetry, is the keynote to his work on every side of life. He neither believed in nor desired any other Paradise than this earth, such as it might be, such as it was meant to be, such as it would be but for the incredible and enormous efforts made by men to destroy beauty, to avoid happiness, to debase life.

Hence it was that his revolutionary attitude towards art and life was at the same time constructive and conservative. He had a passionate hope for the future, and a passionate love of the past. In all his work he went back to old models, yet all his work is absolutely original. This attitude was really the supreme instance of his faculty of design, of the architectural quality of his mind. The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, of which he was the originator and the inspiring force, represents his feeling towards the past. On the other side, his whole work was that of a society for the promotion of modern buildings; for the embodiment in fresh and vital forms, through associated industry and enthusiasm, of that beauty which does not belong either to the past or the future, but to the present. For the world cannot live—on this point his teaching is perfectly clear—on the art of the past. That art—I here quote his own words—“is gone, and can no more be restored on its own lines than a medieval building could.” “The old art,” he goes on, “is no longer fertile, no longer yields us anything save elegantly poetical regrets; being barren, it has but to die, and the matter of moment now is, as to how it shall die, whether with hope, or without it.” The hope for the future is that “men will some day find out that the men of our days were wrong in first multiplying their needs and then trying, each man of them, to evade all

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participation in the means and processes whereby these needs are satisfied: that men will discover, or rediscover rather, that the true secret of happiness lies in the taking a genuine interest in all the details of daily life, in elevating them by art instead of handing the performance of them over to unregarded drudges, and ignoring them; and that in cases where it is impossible so to elevate them and make them interesting, that should be taken as a token that the supposed advantages gained by them were not worth the trouble, and had better be given up."

As practical men, some of us may not agree with this. The name of a practical man is often applied to a man whose life and work is not founded on any principle and will not stand any test. Architects know, perhaps better than most, what the practical man's work is like.

Of Morris' faculty of design as a craftsman I am not qualified to speak, and others here are; yet this I cannot forbear saying, that one keeps coming back to his work from other work more modern, more clever, more showy, with an ever fresh sense of its truth and soundness. The same is true of his poetry. The sense of design in it is almost faultless. It would be easy and pleasant for me to enlarge upon this, but it would not be relevant to the occasion. Still less dare I enlarge upon his sense of design as applied to the social fabric. But all three were in harmony. If you find one excellent, you may be sure that the same excellence exists in all.

This is perhaps one of the highest of his achievements. In an age of specialisation and distraction, he showed that it was still possible to see life and practise it as a whole. Why he was able to do this was in the main not from any unapproachable qualities belonging to the man of genius and denied to mankind at large; it was from two qualities which we could all possess if we chose, simplicity and fearlessness. He differed from other men in many ways no doubt; he had an astonishing quickness in the senses of sight and touch, he had great physical strength, he had a remarkable memory. But his main difference from other men was this, that he nearly always knew what he meant, and nearly always did what he chose. He began life under

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the domination of Anglo-Catholic theology. He outgrew that. His liberators were Carlyle and Ruskin. To the end of his life he was grateful to them, and spoke of them as his masters ; but he was never their slave. For a time he was overpowered by the magical influence of Rossetti. That also passed away. Thenceforth he was his own man. Entangled in many perplexities, he never succumbed to any ; he knew no master and followed no guide. He lived in the beauty of nature, the strength of his own spirit, the hope of a day to come. The image which most reminds me of him is that noble one of the eagle before sunrise—

Wakeful he sits and lonely and unmoved,
Upon some highest cliff, and rolls his eye
Clear, constant, unobservant, unabased,
In the cold light above the dews of morn.

J. W. MACKAIL

SIR EDWARD GREY'S FOREIGN POLICY

II.—THE CONGO : THE PAN-ISLAMIC MOVEMENT

IT is so little the habit of statesmen to indulge in public in any large or constructive explanation of their foreign policy, that a vast change may come over its spirit and its methods, unnoticed by public opinion. The old diplomacy, which is still followed by the Conservative Empires without a suspicion that it is growing obsolete, regarded all the external relations of states from the standpoint of the balance of power. They were, in its view, isolated units, each guided exclusively by a pursuit of purely national interests; their whole standpoint was self-regarding; they recognised no duties to any larger whole, and if they came together in transitory combinations, that could only be for mutual protection or for the furtherance of some common designs against a neighbour or a rival. International politics were a play of forces, and though the aim of each Power might be with all sincerity to avoid the decisive shock called war, it was still the menace of war and the calculations necessary to avoid war which governed all their intimate thoughts. However pacific the existing alliances may be—the Dual, the Triple, and the Anglo-Japanese—they are all combinations which rest on this basis. We are sufficiently familiar with the fact of the friendships which link England, France, and Italy, but as yet their full significance has not been seized. They represent not a new grouping of the old diplomacy, a new arrangement of the balance of power, but rather a cohesion of opinions, a combination for the common good of Europe, a coalition which resembles rather a conjunction of Parliamentary parties than an alliance between the masters of fleets and armies. The old groupings still

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exist. France and Italy are members of the two opposing European groups ; France and England belong to the two Asiatic groups which are still potentially opponents, and were so recently enemies. It is a puzzling situation until one realises that the new diplomacy which has brought it about is moving on a plane of its own ; that its concern is as much with opinions as with interests, that its method is rather persuasion than force. When Mr. Chamberlain heralded a new triple alliance between England, Germany, and the United States, he was right in so far as he realised that a democratic age demanded some natural affinity in its friendships ; he was wrong in supposing that the basis of this affinity would be race, and that its expression would be the old offensive and defensive alliance. The old combinations sought peace as an interest, or if not peace then victory, for their members. The new combination seeks peace as a principle, and desires it for a Europe of which it is conscious in some dim way as a moral entity. The old combinations were a comradeship in arms ; the new combination has for the first item on its European programme the reduction of armaments. As yet its aims are but imperfectly understood. German statesmen, moving still in their Bismarckian world of *Real-Politik*, sought to break it up. Failing in that attack, they now seem to invite us to include them within it. That request means that they still fail to realise that the new Liberal group is not a partnership of forces, but a party resting on principles. The test of our sincerity is our attitude towards Russia. Had we been engaged simply in the old business of balancing forces and adjusting interests, we might without scruple have accepted a despotism as a useful ally. It is because we are engaged not so much in consolidating a new league as in building up a European party, that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was able to assure the editor of the *Neue Freie Presse* in a recent interview that we shall not conclude an understanding with Russia until she has adopted a constitutional *régime*. There lay implicitly in that declaration the assumption that our international relationships are based at length on common principles and not merely on common interests.

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As yet, perhaps, it would be too much to say that Western statesmen have been quite conscious in forming the new international party. Its future depends very largely on the extent to which we can prevent it from drifting insensibly into the spirit and form of one of the old dynastic alliances. Every hint that our aim is to counterbalance Germany, every disposition to give our association a military character must tend to vulgarise it. On the other hand, every act of co-operation to secure an end which is a European and not merely a British, a French, or an Italian interest, must help to confirm its best features and to emphasise its quasi-Parliamentary character. The Prime Minister's initiative on behalf of a reduction of armaments has laid the basis of a common programme. It is from this standpoint that such questions as Macedonia and the Congo gain a special importance. To free the European provinces of Turkey from oppression and anarchy, and to deliver King Leopold's African estate from the commercialism which devastates it, would be to confer an inestimable boon upon some millions of helpless and suffering men. But it would be much more than this. It would mean the rallying of all that is best and most generous in Europe itself; unity, after all, can be realised only in action. A struggle to do justice to one persecuted Jew was the means of constituting the great Republican *Bloc* in France. A concerted effort to liberate Macedonia and the Congo might help to form with a full consciousness of high ends a Liberal *Bloc* in Europe.

THE CONGO

Sir Edward Grey's policy towards the Congo Free State is, in brief, to rely upon the gradual enlightenment of Belgian opinion, and to trust to the Belgian Chamber either to annex the Congo or to compel King Leopold to reform it. That is certainly the policy which any Liberal mind would prefer, if it were feasible. To intervene from outside, even if the employment of actual force is unnecessary, is always to work some collateral mischief in the process of achieving our main end.

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Unfortunately the relations of Belgium to the Congo Free State are such that it is difficult to imagine any effective Belgian intervention save as a consequence of something approaching a revolution in Belgium itself. The constitutional difficulties are serious, the financial difficulties are overwhelming. For while the Free State is a Belgian enterprise, it is not a Belgian colony. Belgium is not responsible for its misdoing ; she has no control over its rulers ; but she is honeycombed by the vast interests which thrive on its predatory profits. It is true that her king is also its sovereign. It is true that she lends it her officers and even staffs its press bureau with her consuls and her judges, who continue to draw their pay as Belgian officials. It is also true that she is the largest creditor of the Free State, and also its heir-apparent. She has, moreover, the same general right of intervention which we possess, since she is like ourselves a signatory of the Berlin Act by which the Free State was constituted. And yet in effect she has no more right of control over the acts of King Leopold on the Congo than England had over the policy of the Georges in Hanover. It is his private estate, and Belgium cannot so much as demand the publication of its accounts.

There are, therefore, grave technical difficulties in the way of Belgian intervention. But the real difficulty is rather that the dominant force in Belgian politics is entirely subservient to King Leopold's dictation. The Clerical Party is still the arbiter of Belgian politics, and despite the disreputable life and the political cynicism of the king, it is before all else a royalist party. Belgium is the one country of Europe which is relatively richer and more populous than England, and the interests of its Catholic bourgeoisie are bound up with the foreign enterprises of King Leopold. Belgium has no empire, and yet she is even more dominated by financial Imperialism than England was in the great days of Mr. Rhodes and the Chartered Company. The organisation which boasts the name of Free State is itself nothing but a chartered company formed for profit, which has behind it neither a High Commissioner nor a House of Commons. It is subject only to a sovereign who is himself a merchant adventurer, and it holds in most cases at least

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half of the fabulously valuable shares of the trusts which exploit the territory, the labour, and the rubber of the Congo. Here to begin with is a sufficiently direct interest in misgovernment. But the Leopoldian system of finance includes a large number of enterprises which are not directly Congolese—the great Chinese Company which is supposed to have derived a good deal of its capital from the resources of the Free State, the wealthy Wagons-Lits Company, of which he is the chief promoter, the shady enterprises which pander to the nasty pleasures of Ostend. Beside this, the profits of the royal rubber-trade have been invested to an enormous but as yet uncertain extent in landed property in Belgium; they have also been lavished on the Belgian press and on the Belgian contractors who construct the vast palaces, public and private, in which its sovereign and its offices are housed. In short, the Belgian bourgeoisie have been debauched by the profits of slavery, and the men who sit on the benches of the Clerical majority are largely the men whose private interests have been served by King Leopold's sinister commercial genius.

So long as the campaign against the Congo relied mainly on English sources of information it made no impression whatever on the Belgian Government and the Clerical majority behind it. The Catholic missionaries resisted it because it was tainted by a Protestant origin. The Socialists, under the brilliant and courageous leadership of M. Vandervelde, were the only party which steadily remembered its duty to humanity. But in paying them this tribute, we have to recollect that their advocacy of reform and their attacks on the king served rather to antagonise than to convince the Catholic middle-classes. The *raison d'être* of their party is hostility to Socialism, and they thought it a sufficient defence to reply that the critics of the Free State were either Republicans or Atheists or Protestants. The report of the Congo Commission did, on the other hand, make a marked impression on some of the sincerer spirits among them. One missionary organ at least began to denounce the atrocities of the Congo trusts, and even in the Chamber there were two or three Clerical deputies who expressed in the last debate (February, 1906)

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a hesitating and partial agreement with M. Vandervelde. Too much has been made of this defection. The speeches of these enlightened Clericals, as we may read them in the verbatim report published by the Congo Reform Association, show little ability and even less determination. They throw the whole responsibility for wrong-doing on the Congo companies, and ignore the fact that the Congo State controls these companies, and is the chief shareholder in them. They talk with a timid reverence of the vicious king who is evidently still an object of veneration to the Clerical mind. They still abuse the Protestant missionaries and represent the motives of the English association as interested. They betray a naïve patriotic bias, and one speaker even uses "Belgian" as the natural climax to a string of adjectives denoting moral excellence. They assume that the King's whole aim is humanitarian, and they talk of his paper reforms as sufficient to assure the future. Finally, they declined to follow the Socialists in their practical proposal—that the Chamber should investigate the intricacies of Congo finance. In short, these men are timid and loyal Conservatives, who liberated their consciences by a few sentences denunciatory of the minor criminals, but declined either to censure King Leopold or to take so much as the first elementary step towards enforcing Parliamentary control. Some Liberals were braver, and of the Socialists one can only say that their moderation and tactical wisdom was equal to their courage. But the only aspect of the debate which need interest us, is that the very mild proposal to "demand from the Congo State the communication of all documents, accounts, and reports calculated to enlighten Parliament" found only sixty supporters in a House of 147 voting members.

In these figures, it is to be feared, we have the measure of what Belgian public opinion is likely to achieve. The Chamber voted thus under the immediate impression of the Commission's terrible disclosures. When next it talks of the Congo, we may be sure that the King will provide some moral opiate. The debate will be turned from the real abuses of the past and the present to the illusory reforms of the future, and even the humaner Clericals will

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probably find an excuse either for silence or for correct and official speech. But even from this minority of sixty a deduction must be made. The Socialists, who are resolute in exposing the abuses of the Congo, are equally resolute in opposing colonial enterprise on principle, and they do not wish to annex. The number of deputies who wish both to annex and to reform is merely insignificant. We have, therefore, to face this situation. The Congo can be annexed in King Leopold's lifetime only against his will. The one Belgian party which dares to defy his will is also opposed to annexation. The docile Clerical majority will annex only when he is ready to surrender his estate—when, that is to say, its depopulated territories no longer yield a profit. But would this majority, still dominated by the financial interests which have ruined the Congo in the past, be a better master than King Leopold himself? One may of course speculate on a remote future in which a courageous and unanimous coalition of Liberals and Socialists will dominate a reformed and awakened Belgium. But even if one cared to allow the whole system of slavery and depopulation, outrage, and spoliation to go calmly on until in the fulness of time this renaissance came about, King Leopold has still a powerful weapon. He claims to be at law the absolute owner of the Congo. He claims to dictate the terms on which it may be annexed, or to frame the will by which it may at his death be bequeathed to Belgium. He has warned us with cynical frankness that this will includes the stipulation that the whole of the present system shall be maintained intact; that his vast private estate on the Congo (*Domaine de la Couronne*) shall still belong to his personal heirs, and that none of the companies which now divide the whole exploitable territory between them shall be expropriated, save at the price of their shares, which owe their whole value to methods of barbarism.

We can now realise what is involved in this proposal to wait for the ripening of Belgian opinion. If it meant a policy of inaction and passive expectation, it would be either a formula of indifference or an illusion of ignorance. But even if it concealed some plan by which Belgium is to

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be encouraged to annex, in spite of King Leopold, would that avail to counteract the system of commercialism, which he has endowed with a vitality that will survive his death ?

PAN-ISLAMISM

The Egyptian question, the problem of all others where Sir Edward Grey's policy has come into the sharpest antagonism with Liberal feeling, is discussed in another article by a more competent pen. It has however something more than a local significance. The indignation of a handful of villagers against sportsmen who had injured their material interests and accidentally wounded four of their number, has been ascribed to "fanaticism," and this fanaticism in its turn has been treated as a consequence of that wider movement, a sort of Mohamedan renaissance, which is called Pan-Islamism.

Pan-Islamism is a vague word, and we use it to cover a great number of widely different phenomena. The aspects of it which most strike us are fantastic enough, but they are also artificial. When the Palace sends out a little expedition to compete with the French for the possession of some oasis in the hinterland of Tripoli, it is quite a mistake to suppose that the adventure excites the Mohamedan world as the Anglo-French race for Fashoda excited Europe. The incident is a nasty pin-prick which amuses only a few intriguers in Yildiz Kiosq. In general we tend to exaggerate the fanaticism of Mohamedans. It plays but a small part in the affairs of Turkey. If Abdul Hamid massacres Armenians and Bulgarians his motive is much less religious hatred than sheer political panic. They suffer as the Jews suffer in Russia, not because they are of a different religion, but because, rightly or wrongly, they are regarded as dangerous revolutionists. I have known Turks intimately in Crete and in Macedonia, watched them at their worst, observed them in times of folly and excess, and felt the while the keenest sympathy with their victims ; but their attitude was invariably that of a privileged race fighting for its political ascendancy, its corrupt perquisites,

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and its pride of rule. The good and the interesting aspect of Pan-Islamism is the very genuine sympathy which is growing up among Mohamedans, *e.g.* in Russia, Egypt, and Turkey. If it is a fanatical spirit, then we must also denounce as fanaticism the impulse which penned Milton's sonnet on the Piedmontese, or inspired Mr. Gladstone's campaign for the liberation of Bulgaria. It is doubtless true that the obscurantist clique at Yildiz seeks to use this movement for its own ends. And yet there is nothing in it which is naturally favourable to despotism or hostile to Liberalism. It is the attitude rather of the educated than of the old-world Moslem. It is the child of the printing-press and the secondary school. It shows itself as much in the writings of Turkish exiles as in the obscure manœuvres of Yildiz. The Russian Mohamedans, who are profoundly influenced by it, have thrown in their lot with the revolution, and their deputies in the Duma have joined the Constitutional Democrats. The programme of the Egyptian party, whose newspapers go all over the Moslem world, is (1) representative government, (2) democratic education, (3) the conversion of the great El Azhar University into a school of modern science, like the Indian College at Aligarh. Why is it that such movements fill us with suspicion and alarm? There are minds which see in the renaissance of Japan only "a yellow peril." Is there anything more convincing in the talk about a Moslem peril?

There are so many points of danger in our relations with the Mohamedan world that we ought to be peculiarly careful before we stir up to ourselves fresh enemies, or teach the Arab journalists of Egypt to spread the legend that we are hostile in principle to Islam. We must support France in Morocco. We must protect the Christians of Turkey against Abdul Hamid. But need we go out of our way to alienate the Egyptians? And need we excite the suspicions of all loyal Moslems by our manœuvres in Arabia?¹ The

¹ I have not the information to expand this reference, and the whole subject is so shrouded in secrecy that I do not know where the information is to be obtained. But no one who talks with Turks or Egyptians can ignore their suspicions. We have avowedly supported the Sheik of Koweit against the Sultan. There is some reason to suppose that we have also supported his

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truth is, that in our anxiety to rescue this or the other Christian race in Turkey, we have lost sight of the aim which English statesmen pursued too fitfully in Disraeli's time—the reform of Turkey as a whole. Bulgarians and Cretans can be liberated by a surgical operation, but the lot of scattered Christian races like the Armenians can be improved only by some organic cure which will affect the whole Empire. The death of Abdul Hamid, which cannot be long delayed, seems to provide the occasion. The choice of means depends on our ability to come to some working agreement with Germany, which will make our support of the Bagdad Railway contingent on the withdrawal of her opposition to reform. Up till 1890 British policy was the dominant factor in Constantinople and it sought to mediate between the people and the Palace. To that position Germany has succeeded, and her support has gone steadily to the Sultan against his people. We have of late years not disguised our sympathy with revolt, but we have also drifted into an attitude which is anti-Turkish as well as pro-revolutionary. To help Cretans and Macedonians is one thing; to oppose the development of Mesopotamia and Arabia by the Bagdad and Hedjaz railways is quite another. Long ago General von der Goltz Pasha advised Turkey to become an Asiatic power. Our mistake has been to oppose her in Europe, without at the same time facilitating the consolidation of her rule in purely Asiatic and Mohamedan regions. It is quite possible that we might induce the Sultan to relax his hold on Macedonia, by withdrawing our opposition to his perfectly legitimate and indeed beneficial schemes in Arabia and Mesopotamia.

It would be premature to attempt any general estimate of Sir Edward Grey's foreign policy. Its general lines command the confidence of all parties. The initial error

allies the rebel Wahabites against his enemy the loyal Emir of Nejd. Can we wonder if the Turks also suspect us of encouraging the rebels of the Yemen? All this goes on in the Moslem Holy Land, where the interference of a Christian Power seems peculiarly obnoxious and gratuitous. Do we aim at absorbing Arabia? Have we a scheme for creating a rival Anglophile Caliphate in the Holy Cities? Or are we merely pursuing a purposeless feud against Turkey?

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in dealing with Russia has been retrieved. The delay in touching the problem of the Congo may allow him to gather momentum for a serious and considered intervention. It is in Macedonia that the failure seems the most marked and the hardest to redeem. But even here a resolute Minister can make opportunities. If Sir Edward Grey cares to take a strong and humane line on these questions which affect the fate of oppressed races he has in his hands an opportunity which Mr. Gladstone might have envied. He never commanded a majority so vast or so unanimous. The very elements in it which are at present the most inclined to criticism and independence would be the first to welcome a generous foreign policy. Mr. Gladstone had to face an opposition which opposed ; but modern Conservatism does not dissent from the Liberal attitude towards Russia, Turkey, and the Congo. The unique position of the King abroad, our friendships and our alliance, above all the readiness of the progressive parties on the Continent to accept England as in some sense the moral leader of Europe—these are factors which make it both easy and hopeful for us to pursue an initiative with courage and confidence. To attempt nothing in such a position, or to attempt a little with a faint heart, would be to display a deplorable want of imagination, and to refuse a destiny which fortune seems to thrust upon us. Our first thought must be our constructive policy of peace and disarmament. But of all the ways of uniting Europe in the consciousness of common aims and a common civilisation, the best and the most hopeful is to rally her democracies in some concerted effort to bring comfort to the waste places of the earth.

H. N. BRAILSFORD

GERMANS AND LETTS IN THE BALTIC PROVINCES

FOR more than a year the civilised world has followed with anxiety the course of the revolutionary storm which is raging in Russia, and no one can possibly prophesy what the end of it will be. One thing only is certain, that property of immense value has been entirely destroyed.

In no part of Russia has this storm been so much felt as in the Baltic Provinces, where the fury of the Revolution has not only ruined priceless possessions, but where a civilisation founded many centuries ago, and one may say a whole race of people, is being rapidly destroyed. We speak here of a distinct Teutonic race, as, in spite of all efforts against Germanism in this region, German culture, the German language and German blood has remained intact for centuries, in a way unknown in any other country in which the Teuton race has settled.

One unfortunately meets in newspapers with the unjust aspersion that the landlords have done little or nothing for the people of the country, and have only made them useful to themselves.

It must, on the contrary, be said that everything that the people (whether Letts or Esthonians) possess, in the way of religion, culture, or civilisation, they owe entirely to their Teuton masters; and though it may sound paradoxical, the Letts, who are principally in question in this article, except as to their language, are to a great extent Germanised. Their religious ideas, their principles and ideas of right and wrong are completely of German origin.

The methods by which this has been carried out have of

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course been altered in the course of centuries, and when it is said that in the eighteenth century the Letts were severely handled, this may be explained by the entirely different modes of thought which prevailed everywhere at the time, and not attributed to German cruelty in especial.

There was however, a very great improvement in the relations between the Germans and Letts in the nineteenth century. The romantic, chivalrous nature of the Czar Alexander I was not without influence in the beginning of the last century. Thanks to the efforts of the Baltic gentry and the support of the Czar, on the 30th August, 1817, the first great step was made towards the reorganisation of the Baltic Provinces, when the peasants were liberated from serfdom. This took place forty-four years before the freedom of the serfs was granted to the rest of Russia, with the difference that this earlier liberation carried with it no grant of land.

The sudden freedom granted to the Russian peasants at the same time as the grants of land without any preparatory steps being taken to fit them for the responsibility, was one of the greatest mistakes of the Russian government, as it prepared the ground for a socialistic view of the possession of land, of which we are now reaping the consequences in the present peasant uprisings and agrarian revolts.

The great agrarian reform had quite another aspect, both political and social, in the Baltic Provinces. It was carried out, not as in Russia by one stroke of the pen, but by able German hands through several decades. Step by step the peasant was brought to realise his freedom, as he gradually reached the goal of possessing his own portion of the soil. The first rung of the ladder was the *corvée* or personal labour tax. For the land he was to become entitled to, the peasant had to do, in the first instance, a certain number of days of work on the estate of the landlord. This arrangement was abrogated by another in the year 1830, by which his holding became a tenancy, and in this way his payment in labour became a monetary transaction. At the same time the local Parliament of the gentry passed an act reorganising the "Communal rights" and the establishment of elementary schools.

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In the year 1830, when the Russian people were still steeped in all the horrors of serfdom, the founding of the seminary for village school teachers in Courland was already an accomplished fact.

This seminary, which was entirely supported by the land-owning gentry, produced many hundreds of able elementary school teachers, and to them the Letts owe everything they possess in the way of culture. The effect of this was very marked until the year 1898, when, thanks to the Russifying policy of recent years, the institution was closed and its teaching came to an untimely end.

The improvement of the people and the agrarian reform, going hand in hand, had rendered possible the working of the laws of 1863 and 1864, which to this day are the basis of rural life in the Baltic plains.

It is to far-seeing and statesmanlike men that the country owes the existence of these wise and liberal laws. The laws of the year 1863 regularised the leasehold arrangements between the peasants and landlords, and facilitated to the former the future acquirement of his leasehold property. How far-reaching the working of this law was, can be gauged by the fact that, notwithstanding the sale of the peasants' holdings was anticipated to take place by mutual consent with a preference to the peasant purchaser, in thirty years' time about 95 per cent. of these farms had been bought and had remained in the peasants' hands, the greater part of the price having now been paid off.

The law of the year 1864 placed the reorganisation of the landed communities and communal tribunals on a new basis, making them quite independent of the landlords, and vesting them with great self-governing powers.

Thus without bloodshed or revolution, without its even being demanded by the peasants, a peaceful re-arrangement of the land would have been accomplished, and would have undoubtedly led to a complete understanding between the former possessors and the peasants; if its growth had not been suddenly arrested by the barbarous Russification policy of the last two decades of the nineteenth century. This policy has been suicidal, and has had the result of destroying the well-founded work of centuries, of awaking the race

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feeling of the Letts, and exciting it against the so-called "oppressors," and was pursued with the mistaken notion that this would lead to a more complete welding together of the Baltic provinces with the rest of the Empire.

It was indeed a work of annihilation, as in the way of culture these provinces stood much higher than the rest of Russia ; and in this art of destruction the Russians have proved themselves past masters, as the events of the last few years have demonstrated in several other directions.

Instead of building on the old lines, everything was ruthlessly ignored and set aside, to be replaced by a mere bureaucratic scheme unsuited to the genius of the people, and which therefore came down with a crash at the first onset of the Revolution, a revolution brought about by an artificial fostering of the anti-German feeling, and it is very doubtful whether from the ruins and ashes which now remain, any hopeful structure can ever be raised.

It is the old story of the magician's pupil, who could not lay the spirits he had called forth !

In short, the Russians succeeded in destroying all existing elements of culture, and throughout the eighties all the former successful German organisation of justice and administration was done away with, and replaced by a Russian *régime*. The new officials to whom the whole surroundings were unfamiliar, became gradually either apathetic and indifferent or positively revolutionary. Some showed a great capacity for strong drink, and others for bribe-taking !

The schools, the outcome of many years of German perseverance and energy, were metamorphosed by a stroke of the pen, instead of becoming an example of what schools in Russia ought to be.

To give an idea how much had already been done in the way of instruction thirty years ago (before the clumsy work of Russification began) I would mention that when compulsory education was introduced in 1874 for the Lutheran children in these provinces, the proviso was added that all those who presented themselves for admission to the government schools must already have been instructed in plain reading, writing and arithmetic by their own clergy.

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The introduction of the Russian language as the vehicle of tuition, made a startling revolution in the teaching staff. Nothing was taught but Russian and sedition, and it is thanks to this that the present rebellion found such fruitful ground to work upon.

This attitude of the Government, which had so completely upset the result of such long labour, was warmly supported by the Russian press, and joined by the Lettish newspapers they worked against the German element in the country. Everything done by the latter was entirely forgotten, whether it had taken the shape of instruction for the people or the many works of charity founded and endowed by the German landed gentry,¹ and very indicative of the situation was the attitude of the two races towards these charitable institutions, as without any exception the Teutons have been the givers and the Letts the receivers, and are so to the present day. In fact, neither soup kitchens nor hospitals nor any other charities have ever been founded by the Lettish people. These have all been started and kept up by German money, and though among the Letts there is much comfort, and even some wealth, they seem to possess no bump of benevolence !

The above is sufficient to show that the present rising is not due to any fault of the Baltic gentry towards the Letts, but it is entirely owing to the insane policy pursued by the Russian Government in stirring up a race and class hatred between landlord and tenant.

Many attempts were made by the gentry of the Baltic provinces after the year 1880 to induce the Russian Government to enact laws which might have made matters return to the peaceful development on the former lines, but without avail. In this way the revolution might still have been averted, but other counsels prevailed, and the petitions only served to fill up pigeon-holes in the ministerial offices of St. Petersburg.

In short, the determination to Russify the Baltic provinces has in no way destroyed the German sentiment

¹ Such as asylums for all the blind, the deaf and dumb and the insane, leper settlements, soup kitchens for the poor, tea houses for working people, etc.—*Translator.*

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among the enlightened classes, but has rather produced greater sympathy between them and their kindred in the German Empire. This was strikingly illustrated by the reception given in Germany to the eminent professors of Dorpat University, who were exiled by the Russian Government when their High School was metamorphosed into a Russian institution, and the very name of Dorpat changed to Yurgiev. These distinguished men were at once appointed to German universities, though they have still retained in their new homes a warm attachment to their native land, and many of the head teachers of the secondary schools who had a wide reputation abroad followed the example of the professors.

We must add that many of the youths of the Baltic Provinces used formerly to attend German Universities. They belonged chiefly to the "noblesse," and their object was less the acquisition of learning than a desire to remain in contact with German Student corporations, and develop wider social views than could be obtained in a more limited sphere at home. On the other hand, those who wished to study seriously, usually went to the University at Dorpat or the "Polytechnikum" in Riga, but since these schools were Russified and the scientific tuition became lamentably deficient, hundreds of youths of all classes went to German Universities and technical high schools to finish their professional education. At the same time, many of them went to Eberswalde in Germany to learn forestry, or to the model estates in East Prussia to perfect themselves in practical agriculture. All these young men returned home enthusiastic about Germany, and firmly resolved to be alike loyal subjects of the great Russian Empire and exponents of German culture in their Baltic homes.

This sympathy with Germany, in consequence of the severity of the Russification system, is a factor which cannot be overlooked, especially since the stream of German scientists ceased to flow towards the Baltic Universities. In the towns, especially in Riga, there is still a great influx of German capital and labour, and most of the industrial enterprises are undertaken by German merchants, engineers and manufacturers.

GERMANS AND LETTS IN BALTIC PROVINCES

The Baltic region has from the beginning drawn its strength and especially its intellectual influence from the German nation across the border. It has been a link between the two countries, and it has used its German culture to the best advantage of the Russian Empire.

The great rôle which German civilisation has played in that Empire will one day perhaps be done justice to by an impartial historian.

At the present time this part appears to have been played out. The scholars think they have no further need of the teachers, and believe they can dispense with them in that ideal Lettland of which they dream. But how long can this last? Neither Russians nor Letts have any talent for organisation, and it will certainly be a tragedy of far-reaching importance both for Russia and Germany, one might add for the world, if the Teutonic element is obliterated in the struggle.

PRINCE A. LIEVEN

THE LAND POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT

MR. BALFOUR'S December Resignation, devised as an ambush for his foes, gave the finishing stroke to his own political suicide. But it also put out of reach for this year, a Democratic Budget, and the initiation of a new Land Policy. If the Liberals had come in last summer, when Mr. Balfour ought to have gone out, we might have had Liberal estimates, with revision of taxation as well as reduction of debt, and we might have had the first step in the great reforms which underlie every phase of the social problem.

As it is, we have to content ourselves with spade-work in Finance, and—as to the land—little more than sign-posts, and a gentle feast of hope.

The sharply-defined, threshed-out issues of Education, of Trades Disputes, of Workmen's Compensation, were ready to hand, and are being boldly dealt with. Good luck to the venture! It is the best earnest of sound work on the bigger questions of Just Taxation and Land Reform next year.

The national mandate is clearer on nothing than on the land.

It has been the instinct of the people, as well as of our shrewdest of Prime Ministers, that the alternative of a constructive policy was a weapon even more potent for the annihilation of Mr. Chamberlain than merciless argumentative exposure.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has won the biggest majority ever Prime Minister had by wise ideas boldly outlined, and by singular felicity in phrases which hold and

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sway minds. At the Albert Hall, every note struck went straight to the heart of the nation; but no passage won more votes than his appeal "to develop our undeveloped estate, to colonise our own country; to make the land less of a pleasure-ground for the rich and more of a treasure-house for the nation."

An impressionist sketch this! True, there are no flesh and blood clauses and subsections and schedules, but in the sagacious and pregnant speeches of the last two years, the lines of a practical and comprehensive scheme are firmly drawn.

With Cobden, the Prime Minister holds that Freedom of the Land is the corollary of Freedom of Commerce. A redundant town population with a desolated country-side is a subversion of healthy national life. We have to make rural life livable economically as well as socially and politically. We must provide for the farmer "greater freedom and security in his business," for the labourer "a home and a career." Above all, the great departments of the State are not to be a drag, but "a stimulus" and "an inspiration."

And he has chosen his lieutenants well in men like Lord Carrington and Mr. John Burns.

John Burns will go to the root of the matter, and with caution and sanity. "A landless peasantry means homeless men in the towns. 'Back to the land' is difficult, but it is easier to prevent men coming from the land by making it more accessible."

The broad, sympathetic speech which welcomed the Rural Housing Bill is the best guarantee that the careful examination of the whole subject by the Select Committee will enable the Government to deal boldly with the provision of cottages with land attached next year, and make at last operative for good the admirable intentions of Mr. Ritchie's Act of sixteen years ago, which have been paralysed by complicated machinery and unsympathetic administration. The prime instrument is the free hand to deal with the soil and re-create livable surroundings.

Even more definite have been the repeated pledges of the Prime Minister and his colleagues to tax site values enhanced by the enterprise and by the outlay of great and

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growing communities, so as to relieve the congestion of the towns by bringing land into the market for the public good, and add to the fund available for social reforms. It is not a mere question of the incidence of rates; it will lighten the burden of rents, diminish the evils of crowding, and relieve the pressure on manufactures.

“Overcrowding is to a large extent due to the maintenance of the same sort of restrictions and privileges at home as Free Trade has abolished for international commerce.” “The taxation of land values will put an end to the immunity of the landlord enriched by the exertions of others, to the circumscribing of national expansion and driving away from the towns of industrial development.” Again, “we must remove the great impediment in the way of a sweeping improvement which would elevate the physical and moral welfare of the people—the excessive regard to the interest of the landowner.”

“Here you have,” sums up the Prime Minister, “the clearest example of the cardinal and abiding difference, the chasm between the Liberal Party and our opponents, yawning athwart almost every public question.”

A bold, sane creed, boldly stated. And on this question also practical methods are being finally reviewed by a Select Committee.

The rural future has been happily confided to the great Liberal landowner who has for years been working out the ideas of the Albert Hall speech on his estates, and whose robust, generous instincts have done much to stay the rush to the towns. If any man in England can bring the House of Lords to assent to decisive land reforms, it will be the Radical aristocrat, Lord Carrington, who is not afraid to do things, and has the genial tact to get others to let things be done.

The breezy optimism of his first official speech—to the Farmers’ Club—should go far.

“So long as you farm your land properly and pay a fair rent that leaves you a margin to keep you and your family, you can farm as you like, and as long as you like, and you can shoot what you like, pray where you like, and, above all, vote as you like.” That is the simple, straightforward policy

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which has meant only eighteen changes of tenancy on 23,000 acres in forty years! Rents are not competitive, but based on valuation, and if a tenant thinks his rent unfair, he can have a re-valuation at any time.

For the practical development of Small Holdings, on workable and rational lines, Lord Carrington is a living guarantee. On his estate a little army of over 3000 allotment tenants and small holders have banished poverty, raised the standard of life, and kept the population on the soil.

Here, again, inquiry is defining methods and forging instruments for the legislation of next year. A Departmental Committee is rapidly completing an exhaustive survey of existing materials, the success or failure of many experiments, and is adding the latest facts and hints from foreign countries and the colonies, in the economic working of small holdings and in the educational training which will put the whole system on rational and self-expanding lines.

It is not difficult to forecast the proposals. Given the right men, ready and eager to work on the land, the instincts, physical energy, training that mean success, given just tenure and fair play, success will come nearly anywhere. It is not a matter of exceptional soil, or climate, or of hothouse fostering. That is the lesson of Lord Carrington's own estates.

Perhaps the actual lines may fit in with the legislative programme of the Co-operative Small Holdings Society, of which he was President, which lays down that (1) there should be no limit in size to holdings hired or bought compulsorily under the Local Government Act of 1894; (2) the County Council should have compulsory powers to buy or hire under the Small Holdings Act, 1892, and be able to let as well as sell holdings up to fifty acres; (3) there should be permanent "Small Holdings Commissioners" to facilitate the working of the Acts; to administer grants; to buy or hire land to develop or lease to local authorities; and to act as an Appeal Court against an unwilling authority. What Lord Carrington aims at accomplishing is in no sense the "farm colony" policy, but the natural growth of the men

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of the soil, who know and love it and stick to it, and can be brought back to it. Liberalism means not only Free Trade but Free Land. To keep men on the land, you must give them the chance of a real living wage, and that you can only do by giving them land.

On Land Tenure, Ministerial policy has been even more precisely indicated.

At Norwich, and at Bolton, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has insisted that "our system of tenure hinders and cramps the free development of a scientific and forward policy in agriculture." "Security and independence will enable the farmer to take full advantage of the newest methods, to the benefit of landowner and nation as well as himself." He urged that the Market Gardeners Act passed in 1895, under the Liberal Government, giving security in improvements and liberty to put up buildings and plant trees to the small cultivator far beyond what the ordinary farmer enjoys—has resulted in an immense impetus and development of market gardening. If the application of a little dose of common sense and common justice in this comparatively small field has had a good effect, why should we not try it on a larger field? Yes, "these are the ways to encourage enterprise and good farming, to bring labour and capital both in larger quantities to the soil, and to build up a healthy society."

That is the vigorous, lucid, convincing philosophy of our Prime Minister, and it is the Albert Hall aphorism writ large.

The man selected to put it into action is the Chairman of the Welsh Land Commission, who is responsible for the strongest and most far-reaching recommendations ever made after a great inquiry.

Lord Carrington is to have his way, and he is pledged to secure (1) that a tenant, where the estate is transferred to a new owner by death, sale or bankruptcy, shall have three years to look round, instead of being forced to quit in twelve months, or pay an enhanced rent; (2) that on a renewal of tenancy, or revision of rent, a sitting tenant should have his existing improvements valued and allowed for; (3) that where a tenant is turned out, except for non-payment of

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rent or bad farming, he should have compensation for disturbance.

Lord Carrington, further, is pledged to a system of independent state-paid arbitration, indistinguishable from a Land Court in the certainty with which it will secure to a tenant his full property in his improvements, and secure a landlord from the deterioration of his farms. Coupled with the Prime Minister's appeal to extend, subject to arbitration, the freedom of improvement from market gardens to big farms, this is a grand programme on which to develop boldly, wisely, safely, the future of progressive agriculture—a charter not only to existing farmers, but to the new army of workers on the land, most of whom will at first be tenants.

A start, somewhat haphazard, has been made this summer by a Land Tenure Bill for which a day was secured by Mr. Agar-Robartes. Some critics think Ministers might have done better with a strong and comprehensive Land Bill of their own next year. Lord Carrington has hoped to get at least some of his ideas put through by adopting this Land Tenure Bill. It is an open secret that he will take it up in the House of Lords when the Commons have read it a third time. It is a pity he did not take it in hand from the first. The Bill has been described as "drastic," but is really an attenuated edition of proposals that have been for years before the House, and passed a second reading in 1895 in their original uncurtailed robustness. In Committee, "compensation to the sitting tenant" has been knocked out, and "continuous high farming" has been rejected. The Bill needs a lot of tuning up to be brought to Lord Carrington's own concert pitch. But it does contain (as it left the Standing Committee) compensation for disturbance, and reasonable freedom in cropping and sale of produce; it enables a tenant to get compensation for laying down pasture, repairing of buildings, roads, bridges and water-works, planting of fruit trees, asparagus, strawberries, etc., by the same machinery as drainage under the old Act; and it sets up the "single arbitrator" procedure for all questions in dispute, and the principle of a record of condition. There are also two rather irrelevant, but useful reforms in

giving compensation for damage by winged game, and apparently licensing shooting parties to keep down rabbits—this last provision a doubtful gain for high farming, if it encourages sporting tenant farmers with shooting guests!

If Lord Carrington stiffens and extends this Bill, it might easily be made to do all that is wanted. Many other improvements, and conspicuously the cultivation of hops, should be exempted from landlords' consent. Why not boldly with the Prime Minister give a free hand to the improving tenant—subject to arbitration, on the landlord dissenting? The sitting tenant should be replaced in the Bill, and the step eagerly desired by Conservative landowner as well as by Liberal land reformer—the appointment of arbitrators, with judicial as well as agricultural qualifications, and with districts assigned for them—Lord Carrington's own former proposal—should be inserted.

Whether Lord Carrington, the best of men for the job, will get the backing of his Cabinet to push a Bill thus strengthened through the Lords, or whether he will think it worth his while and consistent with his own splendid record, to pass a truncated portion of the Land Tenure Bill, remains to be seen. Perhaps their lordships will end doubt at once by summary rejection of the Bill in any form!

In any case, the Bill has been a sporting venture in the right direction for which Land Reformers will thank its young promoters.

Enough has been said to show that big and sound materials are being collected and shaped, and that next year we may look for big and, let us hope, decisive measures in the way of Land Reform which will open many doors—now tightly closed—to simple but true human happiness and well-being.

FRANCIS ALLSTON CHANNING

CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHILD

IT is no slight misfortune that the present struggle over religious education is being conducted on both sides with so strangely little reference to the nature of the child. Religious education as given in elementary schools is undoubtedly something of a failure so far as the practical outcome is concerned ; and in whatever way the questions now at issue be decided and re-decided, this practical failure seems likely to remain.

Would it not be well if educational authorities and teachers of religion laid aside for the time their interest in the denominational aspects of the matter, and enquired more thoroughly into fundamental principles ?

How far is a child capable of assimilating religious instruction ? This is the great question which has never been impartially or systematically examined by the teachers of religion, though upon the answer to it any rational plan of religious education must directly depend. The true ultimate answer can be furnished only by science, and though the scientific study of the child is still in its first opening stages the contributions of able workers in biology, physiology and anthropology, as well as of observers like Preyer, Baldwin, Sully and Stanley Hall, have already accumulated a considerable body of trustworthy and suggestive facts.

One of the most important is the fact that the brain-cells in childhood are not all equally and indifferently ready for stimulation and activity. The centres develop and are linked up in a certain succession, and it is a further highly significant fact that the order of mental development in the individual child repeats the historical order of mental

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development in the race. The repetition is summary and abridged, but constant in adhering to the original sequence of phases.

Bearing merely these two facts in mind can we say that the Christian religion should be taught to children in its fulness as a matter of course ?

Christian morality and Christian dogma require, for any tolerable comprehension of them, both faculties in full play and well-established links of association. Nature exacts a heavy penalty for over-taxing the immature. By disgust, loss of balance, insincerity, and yet more frequently by a dead indifference, she has again and again avenged the helpless young brain upon over-hasty teachers of religion.

Historically also this haste lacks justification. Childhood in the individual corresponds to the primitive, savage and barbarian stages of development in the race ; and it was not to primitive or savage or barbarian man that Christianity was given. If Christ came indeed in the fulness of time it is plain that the appropriate moment fell somewhat late in the development of humanity. That His message belongs to maturity, not to childhood, we may further gather from the fact that He addressed Himself exclusively to the adult. It is remarkable—recalling His graciousness and sympathy—that we never once hear of His teaching a child.

Looking then at religion simply from the standpoint of child-nature, what ought we to teach, what to postpone ? If, for instance, we examine the Bible itself from this standpoint, shall we find it necessary to make any changes in our method of using it with children ?

For our present purpose we may take the Bible as falling into three divisions : 1. The Gospels ; 2. The Historical Books ; 3. The Books of Poetry, Philosophy, and Doctrine.

Let us consider the Gospels first. There seems to be a consensus of opinion among religious people of all denominations in favour of giving these at any rate to children to read. It is thought that as soon as possible children should be thoroughly at home in them, in order that they may the better learn to know and love Christ,

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and have their earliest feelings of devotion drawn out towards Him. Though this view has been acted upon for many generations in Protestant communities, perhaps the lack of interest in religion constitutes a hint that it requires some re-consideration.

The more enlightened a system of education, the more its wisdom will be shown in what it withholds, as well as in what it supplies; and it certainly appears possible that a better knowledge of child-development will lead to a less indiscriminate use of the Gospels in the education of children.

Their subject-matter, from the point of view of education, falls naturally into two divisions: the teaching of Christ, and the History of His life. Do these, or does either of these, form a suitable subject for the teaching of children?

Surely the more thoroughly a grown person enters into the teaching of Christ, and the more truthfully he realises how and why it appeals to him, the more clear it grows that this message is one not possible to be received until the mind has been in some degree ripened and made active by thought and experience. We so commonly assume that it is a very simple message. It does undoubtedly lend itself to expression in very simple sentences; but on a closer examination it will be seen to pre-suppose so much, and to have a significance so far-reaching and profound, that its first semblance of simplicity becomes merely an erroneous impression. For one thing it strikes right athwart the strong natural impulses which man has inherited from innumerable ancestors, whose line reaches into a past beside which the history of Christianity is a thing of yesterday. That as a whole man has not yet grown up to the Christian level is shown by the steady antagonism between the spirit of the world and the spirit of Christ. So inveterate is this that all grown-up minds, some more and some less fully, accept it as inevitable. No Christian community attempts to regulate its proceedings by the Sermon on the Mount, and even individuals who do so are extremely few. This hiatus between conviction and conduct cannot but be due to mental defect—to a long-

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standing, deleterious habit of entertaining mutually contradictory opinions, and living on without any attempt to harmonise them or to discover whether one or the other is false. All observers of children have noted that the child does not, to begin with, display this defect. On the contrary, he makes strenuous efforts to reconcile the contradictions which come within his ken; and these efforts are nowhere more strenuous or more touching than in the sphere of duty and religion. He is quick to see the difference between precept and practice, and the ancient problem of the prosperity of the wrongdoer presents itself to him very early. The sensitive, thoughtful child broods over these questions, and may make himself intolerably unhappy; the others, after some honest little struggles, throw the whole thing aside, and by degrees, following the example of their grown-up friends, learn how to entertain mutually contradictory beliefs in, so to say, water-tight compartments.

But this sacrifice of mental integrity in early life must necessarily affect the whole development and working of the brain; and perhaps the slowness and the superficial nature of the moral progress of civilised nations may be traced back to this early helpless insincerity in religion.

So much of Christ's teaching, then, as is plainly and directly contrary to the common conduct of ordinary reputable persons should not be brought to the notice of young children in the hasty, general and absolute manner now in use. It is irony to tell them, on the authority of the Son of God, that the poor are blessed; that every one that asketh receiveth; or that for every idle word men shall give account in the day of judgment. The deep, underlying truth in such sayings, which vindicates itself at last in the eyes of the grown-up, is entirely beyond a child. Again, what is the use of bidding children "turn the other cheek" when we ourselves consider any child who acts in this way either as an insufferable prig or as deliberately trying to "aggravate"; while the child himself very soon sees that grown-up people hardly ever carry such a precept into practice? What is the use, amid all the show and luxury, the want and degradation of modern

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life, of telling him to take no thought for the body? Or how dare we set forth to him the doctrine that a man cannot serve God and Mammon?

It is not possible to "explain" such matters to a child; he is not physically capable of following one's ratiocinations. The only possible result of this premature introduction to difficulties is mental discomfort, passing into indifference, and further into a subtle attitude of distrust towards that high Authority in Whose Name they are propounded.

There are numerous other sayings which, without being in so obvious an opposition to the ways of ordinary life, are yet so much beyond the child's capacity to understand, that it is literally useless to speak of them to him.

"He that saveth his life shall lose it."

"Where your treasure is there will your heart be also."

"Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness."

"Enter ye in at the strait gate."

"He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me."

Let any one try to think himself back into a child's stage of development, let him annul the experience of adult years, and ignore the linked and complicated mass of associations, which form the ground-work of his mental life, but, in the child, have yet to be formed—and then honestly ask himself what a child can make of such sayings as these. By letting him know anything about them we are depriving them of all freshness and beauty in his perception, and that to no earthly purpose. When the day comes for him to welcome them and find them true, they fall flat on ears too long accustomed to them, and are rejected as part of a whole mass of teaching that has long been stale and wearisome.

It is a mistake, then, to read any one of the Gospels straight through with a child; still more so to make him "get it up" as a whole; while any selection of the sayings and parables given should be made with the very greatest care.

The same argument must apply to the History of the Life of Christ—and that more especially where the closing

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scene is concerned. The birth at Bethlehem ; the eager Child in the temple ; the loving and dearly-loved Teacher who for those three short years moved up and down the highways and hill-sides and through the townships of Galilee, may well find a place in the thoughts and imagination even of little children. But when it comes to telling them the story of the Crucifixion, surely there is much to give us pause. How can any devout Christian bear that little children should hear this story with a matter-of-fact indifference, or have wearisome associations connected with it ? Yet the only alternative to this is distress, such as no young child should be called upon to go through. Thinking of what the Crucifixion should signify to the child in later years, is it fair to spoil it all by forcing it upon him before he is in any sense ready for it ?

Turning now to the Historical Books, it may fairly be said that if they did not form part of the Bible it would hardly occur to any one to occupy young children with them. As mere history they are obviously very difficult and beyond the scope of the elementary school. It is as an adjunct to religion that these books are taught,—to show God's dealings with men in the times before Christ came.

But viewed as lessons in morality, or in the knowledge of a progressive revelation of God, these books teem with difficulties for the very young. One day you make it clear to a child that graspingness and underhand dealing are wrong ; that to take advantage of another's ignorance or weariness is a shameful thing ; the next you read with him the story of Jacob—or it may be of David. From the grown-up point of view these stories are wonderful delineations of characters which, if not altogether amiable or estimable, have yet a certain grandeur about them, and are, perhaps, only too easy to be interpreted. To the child, however carefully the moral may be deduced, they must remain men who violated the law of conduct laid down by God, but were still acceptable to Him. But the moral sense of a young child, repeating as it does early and tentative stages of human morality, is too unstable for such contradictions to be set before it without producing confusion. Only after he has undergone considerable

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training at wise hands, and by his own growth and experience has obtained some real grasp of the moral law under which we profess to live, is it fair to show him how good and great men have sometimes grievously sinned. It seems a perfectly amazing thing that any children should ever hear of the story of David and Bathsheba—unless indeed the simple intention is to hold David up to execration. His repentance is something quite outside the reach of any child's comprehension.

In fact, any one to whose lot it has fallen to teach a child under thirteen or fourteen the historical Books of the Bible, and who has seriously endeavoured to realise the impression made by them upon the child's mind, must have come to the conclusion that stories really edifying and helpful from a child's point of view are in these books the rarest exceptions. The apologising and explaining—not to say explaining away—which is constantly necessary, if Bible stories are to be used religiously, form, one cannot but think, an actual hindrance to the development of the religious spirit in children.

The Acts of the Apostles seems to be the book which lends itself most easily to a straightforward treatment, though, unless read with an unusually sympathetic, vivacious and well-informed teacher, it strikes children as somewhat dull.

The Books of Poetry, Philosophy, and Doctrine might appear at first sight the least promising part of the Bible for the edification of the young. For actual exposition no doubt they are too difficult; but well-chosen passages, simply learnt by heart for their grandeur and beauty, and only very slightly explained, may delight rather older children who have an aptitude for poetical things. An anthology of such passages, compiled for boys and girls between eleven and fourteen, would be a useful book, and might do more than most things to make the Bible beloved.

It may now be asked what is the practical outcome of these considerations. Stated very briefly it would appear to be somewhat as follows:

I. Christian children should be taught by heart the Apostles' Creed, or some similar formula, expressing the

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general Christian belief. Seeing that this requires but little time, and is a piece of learning which comes to a definite termination, it seems hardly necessary to include it in the curriculum of the elementary schools. Surely the ministers of religion belonging to the different denominations might take this upon themselves in whatever manner may be most convenient.

II. Ministers of religion, parents and other persons having the requisite gifts and opportunities, might, at favourable moments, tell children so much as they can understand about Jesus Christ, His life and His teaching. Such talk is best initiated by spontaneous questions on the child's part ; it should be given rarely and only to a few at a time and should be discontinued whenever there is any indication of weariness in any child. Such subjects as Hell or the All-seeing Eye of God (many observers of children have recorded instances of the fear and irritation aroused by this last notion) should not be alluded to. No one should undertake the teaching without having prepared himself—or herself—for it by some study of the mental development of the child. Where there is any doubt about the propriety of introducing any particular topic or incident it should as a rule *not* be introduced.

Only a small proportion of the whole number of young children are within reach of such teaching as this. Let those who, for whatever reason, cannot have it frankly be left untaught, rather than suffer injury at the hands of ill-judging teachers, or through being taught in large classes.

III. Let it be the object of the elementary schools to furnish the children with a preparation for higher teaching analogous to that preparation of the world before Christ came.

It has often been made a reproach to Christian morality that it is unpractical. So it is, if not led up to ; so it is, if given as his rule of life to the unprepared savage—or to the child whose mental development has not yet advanced beyond that of the savage. Christian morality does not

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touch upon many most necessary virtues because it pre-supposes them. Its appeal is not to children, but to men and women who have already acquired moral experience. It is vain to tell a man that to save his life is to lose it, till he knows something of what life is ; vain to tell a man to love his enemy till he has had an enemy, and gone through the stage of fighting him. Not until one has learned prudence and forethought can he see the bearing of the counsel to take no thought for the morrow. Justice and courage must be learnt first, else forgiveness and love are dangerous. Humility and self-denial are good only in those whose self-mastery is accomplished ; in others they may become mere weakness.

Not only the feebleness and unpracticality, but also the cruelty and the vice which have so frequently and surprisingly been associated with forms of Christianity should very possibly be ascribed to the error of ignoring this natural and proper sequence in the training of children. The plain, unemotional virtues of justice, fortitude, honesty, self-control and wisdom,—which Christianity does *not* ignore, but pre-supposes—must have been developed to a certain stage of vigour and stability before faith, hope, charity, humility, peacefulness and the other distinctively Christian virtues are to be thought of.

Let us then begin at the beginning, and, following in the steps of nature and history, definitely and systematically teach our children in the schools those fundamental principles of morality, which they are perfectly able to apprehend, and whose working in the world around them is easy enough to distinguish. Any experienced teacher knows that children are most eager recipients of moral teaching, if only it is of a kind which suits their particular stage of development. The brave man, the just man, the man of endurance or of loyalty is sure of their interest and applause. There are hundreds of fine stories which will illustrate these plain fundamental forms of goodness, and they are so delightful to the generality of children that they may be profitably told to large classes at the same time. By means of them, by varied but systematic exhortation and instruction, as well as by steady practice which daily school-life

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can be well made to furnish, the character of a child might, without any undue forcing, without any premature emotionalism, be so formed and strengthened in virtue (in the good old sense of the word) as to be ready, when on the brink of adolescence, for the more advanced religious teaching.

IV. The time for distinctively religious teaching, and for beginning the study of the Gospels and of the Bible generally, is adolescence—taken roughly as extending from the thirteenth or fourteenth to the eighteenth or nineteenth year. A well-nurtured boy or girl is at this time capable of some real comprehension of the life and character of Christ and of the Christian ideal; while explanations of the dogmas embraced in the creed with which he is familiar, will at least not present such grotesquely impossible difficulties as they do when introduced some years earlier. At this period of life there is a natural and healthful welling up of feeling unknown before, a readiness to follow a trusted leader, a generous ardour of devotion, which, if rightly dealt with, may lift the whole character permanently on to a higher plane. For this power to arise in its full strength it is important that it should not be tampered with during its obscure stirrings in earlier childhood.

The postponement till adolescence of distinctively Christian teaching would meet yet a further difficulty of which one does not perhaps hear so much as one ought. In common with most religious systems, Christianity recognises a turning-point or second start at this time of life. In proportion as a child is earnest and thoughtful he or she approaches the moment of confirmation with great expectancy. A new power and a new insight is now to be given. If the preparation for confirmation proves a little disappointing, hope is fixed on the confirmation itself. In this many a loyal young heart does for a time compel itself to believe that there has been something fresh and hopeful; but presently in the very great majority of cases discouragement and a sense of unreality set in, and sooner or later—mostly sooner—youth finds itself pretty much where it was before preparation for confirmation began. This may prove

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a serious misfortune for the character of a boy or girl ; and its occurrence is due, not so much to the fact that what was taught was in itself useless, as to its all having been known already for so long, and, with over-iteration in ears not ready for it, having grown so dull.

The most difficult, profound and intimate sayings of Christ, the Institution of the Lord's Supper, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection—whatever, indeed, there is to know in Christianity—has all, with a most foolish improvidence, been taught and shown, not once, but many, many times to practically every boy and girl, long before they come up for confirmation.

On the other hand, consider what would be the position of the teacher of religion who was required to prepare for confirmation—or for some analogous form of reception into the adult religious community—a group of boys and girls who had been carefully and systematically trained in what we called the plain, fundamental virtues, but knew as yet nothing of Christianity proper beyond some formula like the Apostles' Creed, and what they had gathered from such reserved and sympathetic and infrequent teaching as was attempted to be described above.

What is now but an empty promise of help and new insight, would then be a real and genuine one. Where now there is only stale repetition, there would then be wonder, awe, delight and understanding. The teaching of Christ, the life and death of Christ, then set forth in fulness for the first time, would strike the heart and imagination with a power and a charm which no mere effort on the part of teacher or learner can bring about. Think what it would be, after the healthful, simple training of childhood in virtue, and at the moment when one's best faculties were all awakening into strange and unimagined life, to have the high and solemn story of the Crucifixion, and what it has meant for men, told one, not for the hundredth, but for the very first time.

And this plan of religious education is the natural one, as contrasted with the forced and artificial one which now obtains.

If anything like it is ever carried out—(and unless we

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are prepared to acknowledge that in the religious education of children we have no serious intention of bringing anything particular to pass, something like this *must* sooner or later grow out of our better knowledge of the child :)—if then any plan like this comes to be carried out, a much greater importance than is now the case will be attached to confirmation and the antecedent teaching. This would fall for the most part beyond the period of elementary school life, and would in all probability be undertaken, as it now generally is, by the clergy ; and of all the work in their hands would be the most critical and far-reaching.

In this connection the writer of these pages would venture, with the greatest humility, to make a suggestion. Seeing that the ministers of religion of all denominations are so eager to get or to retain their hold of the schools ; and seeing that we have at our command a tolerably large and ever-increasing body of knowledge concerning the child and his mental and physical development ; and seeing also that for lack of this knowledge so much effort in education has proved futile and disappointing, would it not be a good thing to add to the studies compulsory before ordination at least an outline of child-study, with the necessary psychology and physiology appertaining to it ?

The suggestion may seem to some troublesome, to others ridiculous ; but in this way only can we get to know what we are about in religious or in any other teaching. Either we must set ourselves to teach religion in accordance with the laws of the child's mental development as the Creator of the child has from all time laid them down (and how one is to teach in accordance with laws one has never heard of is by no means clear)—or, as was said above, we must be prepared to acknowledge that in spite of all the political and sectarian excitement we get up about this question, we have no real intention of bringing anything particular to pass by the religious education of children.

FLORENCE HAYLLAR

OXFORD IN THE NEW CENTURY

IT is one of the many boons of the Long Vacation that it sets the College don free to dream dreams. When the stir and bustle of the quadrangle have died down into silence, and the last exorbitant hansom has disappeared down the lane, when his colleagues and pupils have fled to Switzerland and Scotland and the shadow of the battlements creeps undisturbed across the grass, he may sometimes, if he is fortunate, see the University of his ideal. The deserted walls will be repeopled with a new generation of students; the quiet garden will be wakened and the old staircases re-echo with a murmur of keen voices such as the Founder would have loved. As he lays down his book to listen he will know himself in the Oxford of to-morrow. Perhaps, if he is still young enough to count more undergraduate than graduate years, his dream may still be tinged with some of the colours of reality.

For faith in the power and destiny of the University is the salt of Oxford life. It is not because they love Oxford less, but because they trust her more, that some of her discontented children cry out against her as she is. She is too great to call for allies to the limbo of lost causes. She can lay her spell unaided upon each generation as it comes. She does wrong to herself, and wrong to England, to close up her ranks in terror against imaginary invaders, who are but disciples in disguise.

It is because the breach between Oxford and her critics seems to be daily widening that I venture into print with this article. A junior member of the classical staff has no special right to speak for Oxford; but he has as much right as any one else. It may be timely to make it clear that there are men inside Oxford—not a few, as I think—who are as

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dissatisfied with her present condition as more clamorous voices outside, and to indicate some of the larger points on which reform seems to be essential. If I enumerate grievances without suggesting remedies I do so of set purpose—partly to avoid giving scope to the diabolical ingenuity of the academic Conservatives, partly because any discussion of remedies is at present premature. England is still full of people who are quite content with Oxford as she is: while a still more dangerous minority regard her condition as past cure. But I should be sorry to leave the impression that I regard such remedies as either very difficult to discover or very dangerous to apply. If one quarter of the acumen wasted upon apologetics were spent upon devising reforms, there would be no pessimists in the University. As it is, the remedies are more easily found than the physicians.

The functions of a University are two-fold—to provide higher education for those in the community most fitted to receive it, and to extend the bounds of human knowledge. The two older English Universities, in harmony with English opinion, have always laid more stress on the first of these activities. But the two are by no means mutually exclusive. Education must languish when the springs of knowledge run dry; and research, in a close room, with no window into life, soon degenerates into pedantry. Thus it may be said, putting the two functions together, that Universities exist for the discovery and discussion of ideas. Such ideas must find a peculiarly fertile soil in a place like Oxford, where the traditions, the mode of life, and the accumulation of learning and refinement directly or indirectly attracted by the University, are all favourable to their diffusion. Oxford is marked out to be the intellectual capital of England—to be the home of ideas, not merely in the organised sciences which she professes to teach, but in religion, in art, in politics, in literature, in every department of spiritual activity. That is the essence of an Oxford education; that is what Oxford has to give to the nation. Fitness to receive an Oxford education, therefore, means capacity to absorb ideas; and whoever is not sharp-witted enough, or sensitive enough (the two qualities are by no means identical), whoever can never know what it is to be

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on the track of an idea, has no claim to be admitted to the privileges of her society. Though he be rich and well-born and muscular and as charming as the poets in Plato's Republic, our janitors should crown him with fritillary and drive him gently from the doors.

Let us turn from theory to practice. Every year some 300,000 boys pass into the elementary school. Of these some 25,000 or $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. pass on annually to secondary schools; of this number Oxford has room, in the Colleges (I am not speaking of the Non-Collegiate system) for some 800 new students a year. What a privilege to be admitted! And what an opportunity for the University to set a high and rigid standard of selection! What do we find in practice? That, in spite of the matriculation examinations of the Colleges and the preliminary examination for the Arts Degree (*alias* "Smalls") Oxford notoriously contains hundreds of men (it would be invidious to suggest what proportion of the whole) who are and will remain totally void of ideas, who are thrown back, for pure lack of other interests, on such tedious and conventional pastimes as betting or gambling or watching other people play games; and that, as every Oxford man who moves about the country is painfully aware, life at Oxford is still generally regarded by the public as combining all the amusements with none of the responsibilities of a comfortable country house. That the men whose Oxford career corresponds to this description come largely from the fashionable public schools is not to the point. It is not the fault of the public schools, nor of parents often more foolish than their sons; but of a system which makes it possible for the most obtrusive and influential section of undergraduate society to consist of men whom (for all their graceful manners and gentlemanly standard of behaviour) the pious Founder would be amazed to encounter within his walls.

Why are they there? The answer is obvious. Because they can afford to come, and the better men who might supplant them cannot. Under the present system it costs a very careful man £90 in College bills alone to spend the twenty-four weeks of the Oxford year in a richly endowed College; while nearly every one round him will be spending

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between £100 and £150. Such a man may keep his expenses for the year down to £160 or even less ; but the average undergraduate's allowance is above £200, in some Colleges certainly nearer £250. But the economical undergraduate is uncommon, and seems even less common than he is. Oxford society, like every other society, takes its tone from the many rather than from the few. And the few often pay cheerfully for luxuries and stint themselves in necessities. Not many people, even in Oxford, know how much real privation goes on, among men who often have to earn their own living in the vacation, under the lavish and comfortable exterior of College life.

The expense of living at Oxford is the crux of the whole problem. The question of widening the area or securing the right distribution of scholarships, though no doubt very important, is really a side issue. There are some 600 scholars and over 2000 commoners. We want better commoners ; and the fact that at present we do not get them shows that there are not enough able men in England at once anxious to come to Oxford and rich enough to live there. Whilst our rulers cry out for money, it is men that we really need. If the necessary expenses of living in College were reduced by some £30 (I will leave it to others to say how) most of the present evils would automatically disappear. The sons of clergymen, schoolmasters and poor professional men who are at present debarred from coming (I suppose every one connected with Oxford could give numerous instances from among his acquaintance) would supplant some of the idlest and richest of our present inmates ; for by a strange irony of fate it is for wealthy rather than for intellectual or industrious homes that our endowed Colleges are catering. The ambition to send a son to Oxford might then penetrate into households where the very idea of a University is at present unmeaning. It is not easy to exaggerate the mischief we have done to English life by allowing the Universities to be regarded as finishing schools for the well-to-do. We hear talk of Oxford's duty to the labouring class. She has yet to do her duty to the middle class.

If we are to fill the Colleges with the men who should be there we must act quickly, or it may be too late.

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Oxford and Cambridge have no longer the monopoly of English University education ; they have no longer even the monopoly of the Residential system. While Oxford has been living on her capital of prestige, competitors have arisen to contest her supremacy. It is one of the most significant and lamentable features of the situation that the wave of enthusiasm which has brought six new English Universities and University Colleges into being in the last ten years has passed Oxford by unmoved and unheeding. Though we have had, in the Rhodes Bequest, the biggest advertisement ever a University secured, we stand exactly where we were ten years ago. Our standard of admission has, if anything, been relaxed ; and but for the influx of Rhodes scholars the number of our students would actually have declined.

But there is another reason why good men are kept away from Oxford. We offer them so little prospect of earning a livelihood. A great deal of nonsense is talked about utilitarian education. It has become almost an axiom that nothing can possibly be educative unless it is guaranteed to be useless. Yet ideas have a market value in every profession, and should radiate from the Universities into every corner of the community. It is one of the worst effects of the plutocratic tradition of Oxford that it has made a breach in English life between "culture" and the professions. It has never been made easy for a poor man to earn his living straight from the University. The Continental Universities have solved the problem by systems of special professional training ; we have had too few poor men to try to solve it at all.

What are the professions open to an Oxford man who has no means of his own ? The Church, teaching, journalism, the Civil Service—these practically make up the list ; for, unless they happen to have family influence, few can find their way into business.¹ Now it is interesting to observe (only those who see it at close quarters can feel the whole pity of it) that in practice even this choice is being

¹ It is one of the most crying needs of the day that the ranks of our active merchants should be recruited from among men who have had the best sort of University education. University Registry Offices can do very little towards this. It involves far-reaching changes in parts of our secondary school and University system. There are no signs that the older Universities or public schools have as yet recognised any duty in the matter.

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steadily restricted. For a variety of reasons few of the best men become clergymen, and not many become school-masters, whilst the growth of the half-penny press has perhaps narrowed the entry into journalism. There remains the Civil Service, whose examination has been specially framed to suit Oxford requirements. It is almost Hobson's choice. That is why Oxford scholars always tell inquisitive relations that they intend to become Civil Servants. If nothing else turns up it is the natural thing for them to be. Thus it is that an education that should send out able men into all departments of English life tends to turn out State officials, most of whom spend their lives out of England.

As we have seen, there are economic causes for the breach between "culture" and English life. But there is another and still more potent reason. It is that the culture Oxford teaches is exclusively classical. Greek and Latin are still regarded as the only avenue to education, and proficiency in them is still the high road to academic distinction. Now in theory there is no reason why the study of classical antiquity should be out of touch with modern life. There are few studies, I believe, which touch modern life more closely than that of the slave-societies of the ancient world. But, as every one knows, that is not the spirit in which they are habitually studied. Why has so much of their interest been systematically obscured? Why are our text-books still smothered in grammatical pedantries, and much of our teaching and examining so perfunctory and uninspired? Why do so many of the best men refuse to face the prospect of teaching classics all their lives? The answer is easy. Because the classics have had a monopoly of literary education. Some of the men that love the classics best (and what is the proportion amongst those who have learnt them that still read and love them?) are crying out for the healthy competition that has saved the study of antiquity in France, Germany and Italy. After all, let us say it boldly, the classics are not for every one. Greek and Roman civilisation, and the literature they produced, are not easy subjects of study. They call for rather special gifts of insight and imagination; and every one who has learnt or taught the classics knows how often the call is

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made in vain. It is possible to have consorted with the ancients daily for years without being able to tell the religion of Homer from the religion of Euripides, or an olive tree from a cypress, or a Helot from an Outlander. The classics will never come into their own till they cease to be "protected." A distinguished headmaster has told us that if we open one small postern gate into our drowsy citadel the study of Greek will become as extinct in England as the study of Hebrew. *Adsit omen!* The study of Hebrew is far more flourishing in England (if he had only known it) than the study of Greek; and it is persecution which has made it so. We do not ask for persecution, but only for competition. Let us fling open our gates boldly; and as to the doubters who are still busy sharpening up medieval bill-hooks against the friendly invader,

"Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget."

But the classics and indeed every other form of study have a far worse foe than any that I have mentioned. Every teacher in Oxford will recognise what I mean—"the sterilising pressure of the examination system." Written examinations are always defended as a safe and simple way of testing a man's knowledge. That may be true, but it misses the point. It is no excuse for the fruit-picker who has bruised all his apples in the picking to point out the care and neatness with which he has afterwards sorted them. The part examinations play in a University system is not so much that of testing knowledge when acquired as of directing the process of its acquisition. If nobody knew there was going to be an examination, the examination when it came would be harmless enough. As it is, the examination dominates the course; and tutors, lecturers and undergraduates (and professors, when they fight at all), fight vainly against it.

The examination system affects University study adversely in two ways. The work it demands is at once too thorough and not thorough enough. It is too thorough because it inevitably encourages the committing to memory of masses of detail. Examiners may discourage it as much

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as they like, but few candidates are confident enough to trust to their wits rather than reproduce from their notes. So cramming will go on, sometimes crude and puerile, sometimes developed to a fine art, so long as the system endures. But this is, if anything, a less serious evil than its opposite, the disastrous superficiality for which written examinations are to blame. A Final School curriculum must cover a wide range ; papers are set in a large number of subjects ; and no one can be sure of doing well unless he has been over the ground. The result is that a man has no time to go thoroughly into anything. There is little possibility of anything like independent or original work—of the joy of discovering for oneself what others may or may not have discovered before. Yet research, after all, as Continental critics, not only of Oxford but of England, are always telling us, is an indispensable element in a liberal education. How many Oxford men find this out too late when they start work in a career ! And how many confident dilettanti never find it out at all !

These things have often been said before. Why then does the examination system bear so charmed a life ? Is it because there is no conceivable substitute ? I refuse to believe that there is no other way of testing a student's brains than by taking toll of them in the process. Moreover other Universities have discovered other ways. The real reason is quite different. It is because the system was not devised and is not maintained for genuine students at all. It is maintained for the sake of forcing unwilling idlers to work. It is a gigantic engine of compulsion to drive the free Barbarians of England to the waters of knowledge. There is only one way of killing the present examination system. Fill Oxford with real students, and it will automatically disappear.

So far I have tried to emphasise six reasons why a serious attempt at University reform is urgently necessary unless Oxford is to abdicate her responsibilities to the nation. I will recapitulate them for clearness—the necessary idleness of a large proportion of the present students, the expense of living in College, the competition of the younger Universities, the widening breach between Oxford and the

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professions, the deadness of classical study, and the pressure of examinations.

How are these problems to be met? Who is there to devise, discuss, and carry through the necessary reforms? This is perhaps the most serious problem of all. Some of the questions I have raised are College questions; others are University questions. If they are College questions they will be discussed (or not discussed) by some twenty independent corporations with no common policy and, at present, no common ideals. If they are University questions they will be dealt with according to the University constitution; and Oxford, the traditional home of political philosophers, has perhaps the unwieldiest constitution that even philosophers ever conceived. All legislative proposals must necessarily originate in the Hebdomadal Council and must necessarily be approved by a majority in Convocation. The Hebdomadal Council is an elderly body consisting of twenty-two members, of whom thirteen must be Professors and Heads of Houses. Like the Inquisition, it sits in secret; it has a certain reputation for briskness and despatch; but the results of its deliberations are seldom heroic. If they were, Convocation would soon teach it better manners.

For the "venerable house of Convocation," consisting of all Masters of Arts whose names are on the books, is the House of Lords of the University, and every proposal that is put forward, every statute that is drafted, must be tempered to the opinions or the prejudices of its members. We Oxford residents do not see very much of our rulers; but when we do they give us something to remember. Some of us will never forget our first introduction to that august and reverend body. A proposal had been introduced, backed by nearly all the resident teachers of theology, to abolish an old restriction which interfered with the efficiency of the examination. The country graduates sniffed danger, and, whipped by a Bishop, they responded to the call. It was a peaceful afternoon in early summer, when the dreaming spires invite to contemplation and repose. But inside the Sheldonian a scene was enacted which will be branded on our memories as long as we live. Row upon row of blackcoated English gentlemen (blame-

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less members, individually, of the most blameless professions), conscious only for the moment of a common prejudice, were shouting, stamping, gesticulating, howling, with all the rancour and vulgarity of unnecessary passion, against the wisest representative of their own class and creed. It was a lesson in English history ; it opened up dark vistas of petty tyranny and intolerance. There is bitterness in learning to be ashamed of one's University. Yet amid all the shame and indignity of that bad day's work, there was at least one shining consolation to be drawn. An assemblage such as that deserved neither mercy nor regard. Its continuance in power was a standing challenge to the reformer and every exercise of its prerogative hastened the date of its dissolution.

I have tried to explain why some of the loyal sons of Oxford are crying out for a change of system. The question of University reform is no longer merely a theme for academic discussion ; it is a serious question of national policy. It is impossible — perhaps it has never been possible—to reform Oxford from inside ; and, if it were, we in Oxford are not our own masters. But before the sword of even-handed justice descends upon drones and workers alike there is still much that we can do to prepare for the ordeal. We can set up once more the ancient belief in a University as a place where knowledge is sought and revered. We can convince a public which has been taught by long usage to regard ideas as both irksome to acquire and embarrassing to possess, that learning is at least as interesting as playing and the wisdom of the past at least as living as the trivialities of the present. We can make it plain for even the most bigoted to see that the real struggle that is being fought out is not between literature and science or between the amenities of antiquity and the clamour of modern life, but between the old demons of indolence and selfishness, in some of the 'most attractive of their new Protean disguises, and the rare and difficult faith that by the persistent and untiring exercise of the intellect the golden dream of the study and the cloister can be woven at last into the texture of society.

ALFRED E. ZIMMERN

LITERARY ECCENTRICS : A REVIEW ¹

FROM the highway we call Standard Literature two bye-paths diverge. The one leads into a chaotic country, where all things are to be found, but where nothing is in its place—the country of our daily lives. There is passion : there is incident : there is also beauty. But the spirit of Art has never entered, and the conflict of Tragedy and Comedy remains without dignity—they pelt one another with facts—and without result. The traveller who climbs a mountain here for the sake of the view will as likely as not find the summit occupied by a suburban picnic party. He alters his mood and joins them, and immediately the hostess falls down dead, struck by some horrible disease. Again he alters : he will have no moods but will take things exactly as they come. And he learns in due time that Mr. Smith of Surbiton is a man of like passions with himself. Further research proves that the same will be true of Mr. Brown of Balham, and that Mr. Robinson of Raynes Park—though one must not be too hasty—is probably in a similar plight. It is all very interesting, but the traveller learns nothing that he might not have guessed. He returns—if he does return, for this country has its own pernicious charm—as ignorant of the things that really matter as when he set out.

It is otherwise with the bye-path that enters the country of Eccentricity. It does not profess to take us to the things that really matter. It does not profess to take us anywhere. We pass by the hippogriffs and the mock turtles and the skeleton inscribed “This skeleton was once Charles Henley,

¹ *Some Literary Eccentrics.* By John Fyvie. Constable, 1906. 12s. 6d. net.
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Esquire," and the twenty-six dictionaries (each divided into several sub-dictionaries) which Mr. Babbage, a philosopher, compiled to save his time when he wanted to 'square' the word Dean :

D e a n
e a s e
a s k s
n e s t

The dean asks an easy nest. Similarly with the other church dignitaries—except 'Bishops,' whom he could not square. And, sooner or later, the path ends in a blind alley. It would be terrible if it didn't. We return good-humouredly to the highway, and find that after all we have not wandered so very far from it.

Mr. Fyvie, a guide to this country, has all the qualifications for his post—a pleasant voice, a quick eye, and above all a conviction that the post is no ignoble one: "for eccentricity has always abounded when and where strength of character abounded." And he knows the highway well, as one of his profession should. With his canons of eccentricity the reader may sometimes differ. It is strange to include so great a name as Hazlitt. George Wither, though not great, is not odd. And surely Landor belongs to a serener company?

"They who survive the wreck of ages are by no means, as a body, the worthiest of our admiration. It is in these wrecks as in those of the sea—the best things are not always saved. Hen-coops and empty barrels bob upon the surface under a serene and smiling sky, when the graven or depicted images of the gods are scattered on invisible rocks, and when those who most resemble them in knowledge and beneficence are devoured by cold monsters below."

* * * * *

"When Friendship has taken the place of Love, she ought to make his absence as little a cause for regret as possible; and it is gracious in her to imitate his demeanour and his words."

* * * * *

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"There are no fields of amaranth on this side of the grave ; there are no voices, O Rhodopè, that are not soon mute, however tuneful ; there is no name, with whatever emphasis of passionate love repeated, of which the echo is not faint at last."

* * * * *

To passages like these Mr. Fyvie pays full tribute, and it is true that the man who wrote them also wrote cross letters and did tiresome things. But if the incongruous is so decisive a criterion, then must we count as Literary Eccentrics the poet who scribbled his poems on the backs of old envelopes, or the poet who dictated his to a reluctant daughter. Nor is Landor's humour as contemptible as Mr. Fyvie would have us believe. Helen taking swimming lessons, Lucian badgering Timotheus, Alexander trying to marry a snake, raise smiles that are not directed at the humorist.

But most of the Eccentrics in the book are fair game. They comprise a king, a millionaire, a "calculating" philosopher, and a Unitarian novelist. Some of them never married, others had better have done likewise, others trained up young girls to be worthy of them. And one—the Unitarian—in a novel that professes to be biographical, declares that he has had seven anti-Trinitarian wives, of whom the majority were swept off by epidemics of small-pox. Each lady was beautiful, each knew algebra and sometimes Hebrew ; at the death of each he sat with his eyes shut for three days or for four days or for ten. He survived them all, and then took to the ocean in a small sloop. After nine years he bought "a flowery retreat" with the proceeds of their fortunes ; for they had all been rich.

This Unitarian, Thomas Amory—though the book is called *John Buncke, Esq.*—is a type of the true eccentric. Such a man is content neither with fiction nor with life. A novel is unreal to him, an autobiography dull. He will not say "my hero had seven wives," nor will he say, "I have had one wife, and there she sits." For all his strength of character some little fleck in his brain makes him brood

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too much on the wonderful things that ought to happen in this world, and do not. He would like, himself, to be a work of art, and so, when we meet him, we are at once annoyed and charmed. If he is also an artist, as Borrow was, the charm prevails, and we find the entrance of that narrow creek that separates the land of experience from the mainland. As we coast up it, the shores are so near together and we touch so frequently at either, that we forget they are not united and never will unite, and that all the waters of the sea deepen the channel daily. In our childhood such voyages were frequent. We saw the Tritons and the Sirens with our spiritual eye, though we did not know their names. The stars sang tunes to each other, and our spiritual ears listened. With our spiritual fists we knocked down policemen and told the nurse afterwards, which was unwise. For she gave us thimble-pie, and as the years passed it seemed safer to have a hero who should experience the glories that would not come to us, and perform the deeds that we could not do. Perhaps it was just as well. We might, of course, have turned into Lavengro, and met on Salisbury Plain the son of the apple-woman we had known on London Bridge. We might have seen through the mists of the morning, "a small grove of blighted trunks of oaks, barked and grey": Stonehenge. We might have taught Isopel Berners Armenian in the dingle. But we were more likely to turn into Mr. John Bunclie, and the nurse knew it.

Here then is the type: Trelawney's *Adventures of a younger Son* might furnish a third example of it. The centres of daily life and art are far from each other, and our course is parabolic if we attempt to revolve round both of them. How wild is the parabola described by Mr. Thomas Day, the author of *Sandford and Merton*!

His famous book is sane enough, and he was too honest to pretend to adventures that he had never met with. But his life is a pageant of eccentricity, for he regarded it also as a book—an orderly treatise in the style of Rousseau. Man is equal. Education can do everything. We must improve the race. Therefore he selected two little girls from charity schools, intending to bring them up with the virtues of Arria, Portia and Cornelia, and to marry one of

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them. A lady friend regretfully notes his failure. "When he dropped melting sealing-wax upon her arms she did not endure it heroically ; nor when he fired pistols at her petticoats, which she believed to be charged with balls, could she help starting aside or suppress her screams." One girl married a friend of Day's : the other married a linen-draper.

Just as education can do everything for a human being, so kindness is to do everything for an animal. Why break in a colt which has learnt to feed out of your hand ? Day rode this colt, it threw him, and that was the end of his treatise. In the same year the French Revolution broke out ; a memorable year for Rousseau.

Day, who pretended his life was a book, and Amory who pretended a book was his life, are perhaps the two most interesting eccentrics in a very interesting selection. According to their lights they were consistent. They are not to be classed with the crank, who may be quite conventional on ninety-nine occasions, and quite dull on the hundredth. The crank is irrational ; he has no wild objection to the universe but only a wild objection to some isolated point in it—to the meat in it, to the wine, to the habit of rejoicing at Christmas. In the suburb where these words are written, a pamphlet on the latter topic is issued yearly, and falls through the letter-box about the time one is packing up the toys. We learn, ere it is too late, that Christmas is a heathen festival—Roman, Babylonian, worse—and that he who sold, he who bought, and he who receives this gutta-percha lion will suffer a like condemnation. If the pamphleteer can only grow warm over this, he is a crank, and study of him is not profitable. But he may be something far greater—a man who at every turn sees through our smug civilisation to the barbarity and licentiousness on which it is founded. It is not normal to see through so much : such a man is eccentric. But now we read his pamphlet with respect, though of course it does not stop us packing up the lion.

In the region of the abnormal, things shade into each other very gently, and the cranky eccentric is not unlike the eccentric crank. Yet the former is akin to genius, the

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latter to madness, and it is with the former that Mr. Fyvie is concerned. He does not include people merely because they are tiresome ; indeed, as has been hinted above, he sometimes goes to the opposite extreme. Who drives dull oxen will himself be dull—and there is scarcely a dull paragraph in his volume. It may be recommended to all, but more particularly to those whom certain grave Teutons have tempted down the other bye-path, to flounder in the life we miscall real. Let us hope that he will follow it with a volume of matrons—including Mrs. Shelley, Mrs. Radcliffe, and Mrs. Aphra Behn.

E. M. FORSTER

FREE-THOUGHT AND RELIGION¹

MR. ROBERTSON defines free-thought as “a conscious reaction against some phase or phases of conventional or traditional doctrine in religion”; and he has warrant for this use of the term in current usage. It must be observed, however, that, so defined, “free-thought” is not equivalent to free thought. For conditions may easily be imagined, and indeed in some circles actually exist, where the conventional and traditional doctrine is rationalistic, and in such a case free thought might consist in the adoption of some kind of religious or mystic position. It is worth while to make this remark because it seems clear that Mr. Robertson’s admiration for free-thought is not on account of its freedom, but on account of what he conceives to be its rightness. In a society of rationalists presumably he would not respect or countenance the courage and independence of a heretical supernaturalist. On the other hand, and this is the important point, a rationalist, however much he may despise a point of view, will hardly be inclined to persecute it. For the only appeal which he accepts is the appeal to reason and experience. That is his great superiority. Religion, and especially the Christian religion, has always claimed not merely to know about supernatural objects, but to obtain its knowledge by supernatural means. It has thus, whenever there has been a conflict between reason and revelation, been compelled to reject reason; and from the rejection of reason to the acceptance of persecution is a short and easy step. Apart from all other considerations, the great indictment against historic religion is that it has persecuted. Criticism, on the other

¹ *A Short History of Free-Thought.* By J. M. Robertson. Watts and Co.

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hand, has appealed to reason. And thus it is that free-thought has in fact been identified with a criticism or a denial of religion ; and religion with a mistrust, if not a repudiation, of reason. It is from this point of view that Mr. Robertson approaches his subject. The history of free-thought to him is the history of a conflict between reason and superstition. He measures progress by the growth of rationalism and the decline of religion ; and thus raises implicitly, by the postulates underlying his whole treatment, one of the most important questions with which modern society is confronted. Those postulates are that religion has been and is socially injurious and intellectually false. I call them postulates because they are assumed, not established, by the book before us. They determine the selection of the facts and the emphasis laid upon them. To say this is not to suggest that Mr. Robertson is not candid. No writer is more so. He is simply convinced of his postulates before he writes his book, and he writes it not to demonstrate, but to illustrate and confirm them. It is worth while, therefore, to remind ourselves how different history looks when regarded from a different standpoint. Take, to begin with, the view that religion has been at all times, either altogether, or at any rate on balance, socially injurious. Mr. Robertson has no difficulty in accumulating facts making for that view. Religion, it is true, cannot always have been conservative ; at the outset of all its great phases it must have been, and was, revolutionary. But once it is established nothing is more conservative ; and if conservatism be interpreted as antagonistic to progress, nothing is more injurious. Again, it is impossible to exaggerate the iniquities that have been done in the name of religion, the stupidity, the cruelty, the dishonesty of priest-hoods at all times ; the monstrosity of the superstitions they have fostered ; the blood they have shed, the thoughts they have stifled, the aspirations they have quenched. "*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*" Never was passionate utterance better justified. And a man who feels all this, as Mr. Robertson rightly feels it, can hardly be expected to ask himself very seriously whether there is another side. But, let a different temperament, the product

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of a different environment, approach the same problem, and how different is the result obtained ! To Auguste Comte, for example, religion is the main and the most beneficent force in history. He sees in it not only the basis of all order, but a necessary condition of all progress. From its stupidities, its obstructiveness, its persecutions, he turns lightly aside, to dwell upon its welding force, its moralising influences, nay, even its inestimable services to intellectual progress ; whereas the epochs and the champions of free-thought, in Mr. Robertson's view the source of all that is good in history, are to Comte for the most part mere transitional factors of disintegration. Their services are grudgingly admitted ; their defects elaborately developed. And the whole picture is so different from Mr. Robertson's that, were it not for the proper names, one might doubt whether the two men are dealing with the same world. Yet no one who has read Comte with an open mind will deny that he makes out a very good case for his rendering, a case at least as good as Mr. Robertson's. And the result of such a confrontation must be to deepen scepticism as to the possibility of that science of sociology which Mr. Robertson seems to assume throughout as an existent thing to which he can confidently appeal. At any rate, if sociology is to include the valuation of the phenomena discussed, it would seem to be necessarily unscientific. And that, not only because in all valuations subjective and temperamental elements enter, but also because, apart from that, the facts to be valued are too complex and too heterogeneous to allow of their being accurately weighed. A careful student may convince himself that religion has been both of great service and of great disservice to mankind. But his judgment as to which has preponderated will be fluctuating and vague, according to his mood or the book he has read last ; or if it is definite, the definiteness will rest on his temperamental bias, not on an impartial estimate of the facts. The last word of science will be, " I cannot say whether religion has done more good or harm." Whatever is added to that will be added from extraneous sources.

So far then as the first of the postulates which underlies Mr. Robertson's work is concerned, probably the only thing

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that can ultimately be said is that it is not proven. It is otherwise with the assumption that all religion is false. This is a matter on which science is competent to pronounce definitely; and to candid minds it becomes increasingly evident that science has pronounced. If religion be identified with theology, then all along the line reason is opposed to theology, and reason has won the day. If Mr. Robertson's book is not exactly conclusive on this point—it hardly could be, for it is history not philosophy—it is at least very forcibly suggestive. For even in the briefest summary—and from a summary treatment both sides suffer equally—the argument for free-thought is at all points victorious. The desperate shifts of theology, so soon as it deserts its basis of revelation, its resort to the idea of a “double truth,” one of reason, one of revelation, its attempt to use scepticism as a lever to urge men back to authority, its compromises, shufflings and evasions, its constant re-definition or absence of definition of its own positions, its abandonment of now this, now that method of defence wherever the attack is hotly pressed, its insistence now on the authority of the book, now on that of the church, now on private and personal intuitions, now on the corporate consciousness of mankind, now on the eternal unchanging character of its creed, now on its adaptation to the different phases of human evolution, all this presents to a candid mind a spectacle as little calculated to inspire edification as to convey conviction. All theologies that have ever been formulated, taken in the natural meaning of their formulae, are either demonstrably false, or unproven and improbable. That there is no escape from this conclusion is a belief I share with Mr. Robertson. He is one of a long line of brave men who have fought for the truth; and we, who have entered into their labours, ought not to forget our obligations to them.

There remains however what, to me, is a very great question, though to Mr. Robertson perhaps it may be no question at all. With theology does religion also pass away? Or are there elements in religion not exhausted by theology and which may and should survive it? I should reply that there are. It has been the misfortune, not the merit, of religion that it has stiffened into creeds. Perhaps at the very begin-

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ning, certainly at the later stages, among the many elements which have gone to building it up, fear, desire, and all forms of confused and rudimentary intellection, one may be singled out which I regard as all-important—the imaginative reaction of man upon the world in which he finds himself. Perhaps the most specific form of this reaction is wonder. Wonder, Plato said, is the starting point of philosophy. It is the spring that feeds the conduit pipe of knowledge; but not all its water is drawn off into that channel. It overflows the banks of our science and floods our ignorance. And in this excess it may always naturally, appropriately and desirably express itself in mythology and poetry. In the course of many centuries man has discovered a method of knowledge. He can now, if he will, clearly distinguish truth from imagination. But it does not follow that imagination has ceased to have a province. That could never be until knowledge had answered all questions. But not only has knowledge not done this; it is even widely, though probably prematurely, held that there are many questions it never can answer. And among these questions are precisely those to which religion purported to give answers. We do not understand now, any more than primitive man did, why the universe came into being, why we are in it, how consciousness comes to exist in relation to a body, what it was, if anything, before death, and what it will be, if anything, after. Nor do I think it likely that men will be dragooned, as Comte would have dragooned them, into indifference to such questions. And in any case, should such indifference become general, it would, I believe, be fatal to all high and great developments of life, whether in the region of knowledge, or in that of art. Wonder is the spring of all noble life. If it can no longer find expression in theology, it will find expression somehow else, and that expression will be the religion of the future. It may never again shape a mythology or a ritual; but some think it will shape, if mankind is to progress in any great sense, a poetry, a music, or an architecture. It will also be a perpetual spur to the intellect; and so far from being superseded by science, will be the source of her greatest achievements. That, at any rate, is how the matter presents itself to me, and so, I think, it

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presented itself to many modern men of letters whose attitude is clearly a puzzle or a disappointment to Mr. Robertson. Why, for instance, was Goethe, though a free-thinker, not anti-religious? Why was not Blake, or Carlyle, or Browning? Why is not Maeterlinck? None of these men were orthodox, or even theological. If they were, some of them, theistic, they did not hold theism as a dogma. They would certainly all of them be on the side of Voltaire rather than on that of the church. Yet they are not free-thinkers in the sense in which Voltaire was a free-thinker. They speak with sympathy of religion; its subject matter is more engrossing to them than any other. Why? Because they were religious men, though not theological men. Because the spirit of wonder, with all that it involves, was the master spirit of their lives. Such men represent a completer humanity than the great sceptics, and they and their like, I believe, will be the prophets of future generations. Most remarkable of them all, perhaps, and most symptomatic is Walt Whitman. He stands, says Mr. Robertson, for a "thoroughly naturalistic" view of life. But Mr. Robertson does not add, what is the important point, that his naturalism is thoroughly mystic. It may be said, I think without exaggeration, that the whole of Whitman's passionate interest in life is bound up with his attitude to death. And death he regards as the great revealer. All that he has not known and understood and experienced here he is to know and understand and experience there. All things for him symbolise something that lies behind them. They are more and other than they appear. Like Carlyle, he finds the world miraculous; like Browning, he looks always for the moments which shall "make time break And let us pent-up creatures through Into eternity our due." This attitude is not and does not pretend to be one of knowledge; it is not therefore science, nor is it theology. On the other hand, it is not simply art; for its whole interest is that it deals with the real world, and not with one known to be imaginary. It is an attitude of spiritual adventure lying behind, sustaining, and prompting all other attitudes. I do not know what it is to be called if not religious. But the name does not much matter; the

FOGAZZARO'S IL SANTO

important thing is that the fact exists. It has not passed with the passing of theology. On the contrary, it emerges from that cave stronger, freer, more conscious of itself.

With it is bound up the whole spiritual future of mankind. And the sooner that is realised, the sooner men cease to concern themselves with theology, either to establish it or to refute it, and begin to develop this which I have called religion, the better it will be for all the greater interests of life. The long line of free-thinkers whose history Mr. Robertson records have led us by a long and devious way from the enchantments and terrors of the Venusberg up to the light of day. We have now to accustom ourselves to the light, to face it frankly and freely, with courage, with hope, with the sense of infinite possibilities. The men who help us to do this will be the spiritual teachers of the future. Their forerunners are Goethe and Whitman and Meredith.

G. LOWES DICKINSON

FOGAZZARO'S IL SANTO¹

HUNDREDS of thousands of readers in Italy, and unnumbered others in England and France have, perhaps for the first time, made acquaintance with Signor Fogazzaro through this novel. Yet it may be doubted whether it has really added to the literary distinction of the author of *Daniele Cortis* and *Piccolo Mondo Moderno*. Those works had already established his fame as the greatest of living Italian writers. But the success of *Il Santo* has been of a different order. For it deals with the greatest and most engrossing problem of the day, the problem of religious renewal and reform. It is indeed itself a powerful blow struck in the cause of that reform. As such it has suffered condemnation at the hands of the Congregation of the Index. As such, and not merely as a triumph of literary

¹ *The Saint*. By Antonio Fogazzaro. (Milano : Baldini, Castoldi e Co., 1906.) Translated from the Italian by M. Prichard Agnetti. London : Hodder and Stoughton.

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imagination, it deserves the sympathetic recognition of all English readers.

There seems to be too general a tendency in our country to despair beforehand of the possibility of reform in the Catholic Church. It seems even as if the wish were too often father to the thought in this mood of despair. Yet it is a fact, and a fact which ought to rebuke and correct this insular tendency of ours, that even the chiefs of Free Thought in France and Italy are becoming sympathetically alive to the possibilities of religious reform within the pale of the ancient Church. Here we are all too ready to assume that the capital religious question is the question of the artificial preservation or the artificial destruction of existing forms of religious authority. There are those among us who think that religion can only be saved by the discovery of some fixed centre of authority whose decrees will have an absolute and unchanging value. There are others who think that the claims of such an authority, where it already exists, are so monstrous that there is no hope for religion but in escape from the system which is traditionally associated with them. To put it plainly. English religion is either seeking to acquire and apply in its own behoof the Roman conception and exercise of authority or is so morbidly fearful of that conception that it will not believe in the religious future of the Roman Church at all. We have made a fetish of this matter of authority, whether we choose to show our devotion by beating or by kissing it.

If Fogazzaro's novel helps to disabuse us of this fond illusion, it will have rendered us an admirable service. And this is just what it is capable of doing. To the Liberal Catholics, whose beliefs and aspirations this book so powerfully illustrates and enforces, the official conception of authority which rules in the Roman Church is but the merest accident of its real religious life. To them religion is the highest experience of life, or rather it is life at its best. It is no authoritative formula constraining life into obedience to its own fixed and arbitrary decrees. It is life itself increasingly delivered into the freedom of obedience to its own highest impulses, of arduous search after the most efficient means of turning those impulses into active and

controlling habits. Freedom may have its dangers because life has its dangers, but it is at least the one absolute and universal condition of life. For the essence of the religious faith in freedom is the certainty that the soul of man in its free action and expansion is the theatre and the instrument of a divine activity. And this divine activity has had its classical expression, its fulness of power, in a Human Life whose spirit lives and grows in every fresh obedience of a human soul to the claims of conscience, in every renewal of sacrifice for conscience' sake. The true Church is the embodied living tradition of this spirit's incessant action and victory. That that Church has organised itself in certain ways dictated by the circumstances and conditions of its growth was a necessity of its very existence. But the organised Church is never more than the instrument of the real Church, the herald and servant of the true kingdom of God. The value of its organisation depends upon the measure in which it both represents and ministers to that spirit which is its real life. By that measure the actual Church is being judged at every hour, and is enduring the loss of that which has become decayed and worthless in its constitution, or reaping the reward of a life renewed and transformed. The authority of the Church is the authority of its saintly lives, of its expression of the truth of life which is ever increasingly accordant with that spirit which is at once its heritage and its creation. Such authority will survive all changes in the official ecclesiastical conception of its seat and its nature. The men whom Fogazzaro represents are anxious to remain obedient sons of Rome, but it is because they see in Rome the promise and the potency of humanity religiously organised through the free spirit that is in man testifying to the will of God and leading him increasingly into that will.

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after twenty centuries, of the Christ and the Sanhedrim. And like that story, like all stories which are ideally true, which herald the truth of the future, it has become a Gospel which men are already reading and will continue to read with awakened hearts and eyes lit with a new hope.

A. L. LILLEY

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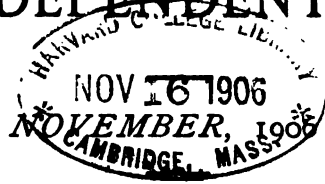
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NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

THE decision of the English deputation not to go in person to take over the Duma Memorial was wise. They would not have outraged the feelings of any one in Russia except the small autocratic party, but as that party is armed and in control of the machinery of absolutism, it could have made the demonstration a failure. There is reason to regret the attitude of a certain section of the press in this country, which is beginning to regard the present Russian Premier as a "strong and moderate" man. He only talks "moderation" for the benefit of the European press. His policy is banishment and imprisonment of all the best, as well as some of the worst, elements in Russian society. He silences the Liberal press. He is now making preparations to "pack" the next Duma. All the Liberals are to be excluded from it. It will have no relation to the old Duma or to the real feeling of the Russian people—if the government can succeed in its efforts. Freedom is again being trodden under foot in Russia by methods more cruel and wholesale than we can conceive of in happier countries. Meanwhile we print below an interesting article on one of the all too numerous sections in which the party of change in Russia is divided. The special interest of its programme is that it looks to create the new Russia on the old native basis of the Mir, or village community, rejecting Marxian theories foreign to the conditions of the country.

In spite of the floods of correspondence which are being

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poured forth in connection with the quarrel between the *Times* and the Publishers it is not very easy to focus the exact point in dispute. Apparently the *Times* has been selling, and desires to continue to sell, books that are practically new at second-hand prices, even where it has bought such books at a special discount from the Publishers. Such a practice is calculated to ruin both publishers and booksellers. The public, no doubt, benefit, for the time being ; but it is necessary to look at the possible ultimate results. It is whispered that the *Times* contemplates achieving a "corner" in British literature. The idea sounds preposterous on the face of it ; but preposterous things are always being attempted and done ; and the trade-methods to which the *Times* has lent itself in the last few years are not of a kind to give the public confidence. The notion of the complete control of our literary output by a firm of foreign speculators (just as our theatres are becoming monopolised by Mr. Frohmann), is not one to which any friend of letters can look forward without apprehension and disgust. The *Times* may, of course be right in its contention that books, especially novels, might be sold at a lower price than that which is current without any disadvantage, possibly with advantage, to publishers and booksellers. But the question raised for the moment is, whether it is desirable that the *Times* should cheapen books by the method described. And to this question it seems pretty clear that the answer should be that of Mr. R. F. Cholmeley in our columns—an emphatic negative. But there is another more general question involved. Is it desirable that newspapers should also be miscellaneous traders ? There could be no more obvious case of "unfair competition." The newspaper trades not to make a profit by trading, but to increase its circulation. Of course, therefore, it can afford to undersell competitors. Still, it may be urged, the public profits. They do perhaps, as consumers ; but not as readers of newspapers. The more newspapers engage in trade, the less likely they are to be independent and honest in dealing with the matters in which they have now become interested parties. If, for instance, a newspaper is also a publisher, or a bookseller, it is under

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a direct and irresistible temptation to subordinate its critical office to its business interests. We shall have papers refusing to review books they are not themselves handling, and praising preposterously and apart from their merits those which they are.

Another junior Liberal Whip, Mr. J. A. Pease, has joined the Master of Elibank in a pretentious declaration against Socialism. We can understand that they should be irritated by the petty difficulties of the caucus and the division lobby. But it is presumably their business to encounter and compose these difficulties, and to leave to the leading members of the Government a matter so important as a pronouncement on broad questions of political principle. We can only say that, if their ignorance of Labour organisation, and their want of sympathy with the Labour point of view, were those of Liberals in general, we should be driven to regard the Labour Party as a distinctly more hopeful instrument of social progress than the Liberal. The point which, in our opinion, really matters is not the exact conception of an ideal society which this or that Labour member may hold, but the fact that the Labour Party, in common with the strongest section among the Liberals, sees that the social question—the question of an equal opportunity for all—outweighs in urgency all others, domestic, imperial or foreign; and the further fact that the socialistic tendency which that party represents, the tendency towards an ever greater use of the common resources for the common good, is in harmony with the best political thought of the day. A crusade against Socialism, in any sense in which Socialism is a thing of practical importance to-day, would be in effect, as Mr. Chiozza-Money showed in our columns last month, a crusade against the best work of both political parties, and the best hopes for England's future. It is noteworthy that the various recent utterances against Socialism have been confined to Scotland and Wales. Politicians are inevitably affected by the audiences they are addressing; and it is pretty safe to say that they would have expressed

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themselves less unfavourably if they had been speaking in England. English Liberalism is distinctly less individualist than Scottish or Welsh. The difference has been insufficiently realised. It is a strong argument for "Home Rule all round," since the progress of social reform in England is in some danger of being delayed, in the next decade, by the representatives of the sister nations. It also accounts, incidentally, for the bitterness felt by Scots like Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Smillie against the Liberals.

The Church Congress was remarkable for the large amount of attention given to matters social and political, and especially for the striking sermon by the **The Church Congress** Bishop of Birmingham on "The Church and Wealth." "The regular assumption of the New Testament is that God is on the side of the poor against the rich. . . . We are the Church of the rich rather than of the poor—of capital rather than of labour. . . . The question which ought to hold the prerogative place in the interests of Churchmen is how we are to return to a condition of things nearer the intention of Christ—if it may be, without violence or revolution, but if not, then anyhow to return . . . The Church must set itself deliberately and of set purpose . . . to get rid of the administration of poor relief . . . and to associate it with the State, the municipality, and voluntary organisations of citizens on a purely secular basis" . . . The same opinions have been often expressed by Churchmen; but they were made remarkable by the eager assent with which they were received, the emphasis and evident deliberation with which they were uttered, the wise and practical recommendations which accompanied them, and perhaps above all, the position of Dr. Gore himself, a bishop who refuses to keep a carriage or live in a palace.

A DEFENCE OF THE TRADE DISPUTES BILL

THE liability of trade unions to be sued, and to have their accumulated funds taken in execution, has in recent years been discussed so often and so conspicuously in courts of law, that lawyers are sometimes inclined to assume that the question now before Parliament depends on legal considerations only. But in fact, since the election of the present House of Commons, the question has changed its character. We no longer ask what the law is. We all admit or assume that the recent decisions of the Courts were correctly deduced from established legal principles. We now have to consider what the law ought to be. The question is not, exclusively or even principally, one of law, but one of practical politics, on which the opinions of eminent lawyers, though weighty and useful, are not by any means conclusive. The vital questions now are, what is the broad effect of the recent decisions on the status of trade unions, what is likely to be the result to the industrial community if that status is left unaltered, and, if some remedy is desirable, whether the proposals of the Government are the best that can be devised from the standpoint of reasonable and practical statesmanship.

Before the decision of the Taff Vale case, the position of trade unions before the law was, for practical purposes, what it will be if the present demands of trade unionists are carried into effect. It was commonly assumed that trade unions could not be sued. Certainly they enjoyed practical immunity from legal proceedings, and their funds were not in danger. Yet it did not occur to any one that there was a public scandal and peril in the fact that trade unionists

A DEFENCE OF THE TRADE DISPUTES BILL

were placed "above the law." There was no outcry against "legalised nihilism." The evils now predicted by alarmed critics of the Bill were not found to exist. In fact it can hardly be alleged that there was any practical ground for complaining of the assumed legal status of trade unions, from the point of view either of employers or of the community as a whole. Trade unions grew, not only in numbers and power, but in wisdom and moderation. Their power depended in the last resort on the possibility of strikes. The possibility of a strike was a weapon of the utmost value by reason of its mere existence, even when it was not used. Strikes were not frequent, and those that took place were on the whole orderly and free from violence, in consequence of the effective organisation of the unions. The Taff Vale decision struck at the root of the existing system by making effective strikes impossible. When once it was held that the funds of a union could be made liable for all damage caused by illegal acts of servants of the union, even though those acts were not authorised by the higher officials, so long as they were done "within the course of the employment" of the servants, trade unions were always at the risk of being hopelessly crippled by legal proceedings. To increase the danger came the series of well-known decisions against trade unions, by which novel causes of action, far reaching and indeterminate in their character, were established. But for the Taff Vale case it is pretty certain that these decisions would never have come into existence. It would not have been worth while to devise ingenious causes of action unless they had been a first step towards getting execution against the accumulated funds of wealthy unions. But as the law now stands, there is high authority for saying that, if two or more servants of a union, whether acting with actual authority or only "within the course of their employment," combine to injure an employer, and do in fact injure him, by inducing his workmen to strike, the funds of the union may be made liable for the whole of the injury so caused. Similar results may follow from the act of a single individual, if it amounts to what a judge and jury regard as "malicious interference" with the trade or business of an employer. The fact that these causes of action are vague and indeter-

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minate in their character, and are the subject of considerable difference of opinion even among judges, only serves to emphasise the mischievousness of the present situation, and the necessity of some legislative reform. It is not necessary to enumerate the other ingenious causes of action which have been devised under the stimulus of the Taff Vale case. But it may be remarked parenthetically that there is a strong impression among trade unionists that the recent decisions, as well as other earlier decisions, have been largely the result of bias on the part of judges and juries, particularly special juries. No reasonable person, of course, suggests that either judges or juries are deliberately unfair, but the belief that they are affected by a bias arising from their position and antecedents is widely held, and cannot be said to be plainly contradicted by experience. Even if this belief were unfounded, and our tribunals were really as impartial in cases arising out of labour disputes as they no doubt intend to be, it would still be indisputable that, whenever there is a strike under the management and control of a union, the union must, under the present law, be constantly in imminent danger of a ruinous verdict. Acts must inevitably be done which would bring the doers, and through them the union to which they belong, within the scope of one or more of the uncertain and comprehensive causes of action above referred to. Verdict after verdict shows the practical reality of the danger.

In the absence of some corrective legislation, therefore, the present position is this, that there are now in existence legal means of crippling any union that organises a strike, and that it may be confidently expected that further means to the same end will be devised. If no remedy were adopted for this state of things, effective strikes would in future be impossible, unions would lose the foundation of their power, and would be unable to make or enforce collective bargains with employers on behalf of their members, and there would be grave danger that organisations of labour on its present lines of open, lawful and unrevolutionary associations would cease to exist.

Whether or not this is a desirable result is a question on which difference of opinion is possible, but it is a

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question which hardly arises in the present controversy. Neither the practical opponents of the Bill nor its theoretical critics have rested their case on the contention that it is desirable that trade unions should be reduced to impotence. It would be cynical to assume that there is any considerable body of opinion to this effect, which those who hold it do not venture to express. It must be taken that the critics of the Bill have put forward the objections on which they genuinely rely as the real and most effective objections to the Bill. One would have liked to ask them certain questions. Do they agree that the result of recent decisions is to make it practically impossible for trade unions to carry on effective strikes? Do they agree that the loss of the power to carry on effective strikes must cripple trade unions, and destroy their power to act for workmen in collective bargaining with employers? Do they think these results desirable? If they are unable or unwilling to answer these questions, then, however eminent they may be in their own department of knowledge, they are of little service as guides to practical men anxious to solve a difficult political problem. In view of the actual criticisms on which the opponents of the Bill rely, and of the energy with which they express those criticisms, it is both fairer and more respectful to assume that they have considered whether it is possible to contend, either that the recent decisions are not a peril to the continued effective existence of trade unions, or that the continued effective existence of trade unions is undesirable, and that they have deliberately rejected both these contentions.

It appears therefore to be agreed, openly among politicians, tacitly even among legal experts, that the present situation produced by recent legal decisions is unsatisfactory, and that it is desirable, if possible, to find some legal remedy. The next question is whether the remedy proposed by the Government is a good one. To judge only from the strength of the language used by critics of the Government, one might come to the conclusion that the remedy is so bad as to be worse than the disease, and that at all events it ought not to be adopted until all possible alternatives had been considered.

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The question at issue really turns on clause 4 and the Taff Vale case. If the Taff Vale decision is to be upheld, and trade unions are to be made liable for their agents' acts just as if they were technically the legal entities known as corporations, such attempts as are made in the first three clauses to meet specific decisions of the Courts cannot be regarded as completely effective. Ingenious distinctions will be drawn. New causes of action will be devised. Trade unions will still be liable to be attacked and crippled. The earlier clauses may, it is true, be justified by themselves, apart from clause 4. Clause 1 merely puts the law of conspiracy on the same footing in civil proceedings as in criminal proceedings. Clause 2 removes the prohibition of peaceful picketing, carried on without violence or threats of violence, a prohibition which, to the general surprise, was recently held to be consistent with the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875. Clause 3 deals with decisions which have left the law in an obscure and unsettled condition, and which have been the subject of much difference of opinion among lawyers. On these grounds it may well be contended that the first three clauses, regarded by themselves, contain alterations of the law which are useful as far as they go. But the broader grounds on which, it is submitted, clause 4 can be defended afford ample defence also for the earlier clauses. The most important question therefore is whether the attacks on clause 4 are justified. If clause 4 cannot be supported, not only would the earlier clauses lose their broadest ground of defence, but the Bill would lose its completeness and its real effectiveness. Even without clause 4 something would be done to meet the peril to which trade unions are exposed by the recent decisions. Some of the specific decisions would be encountered and cancelled by the earlier clauses. But without clause 4 the remedy would be incomplete. Clause 4 alone provides a complete and effective remedy, by protecting trade unions against all attacks in the future. In considering the criticisms on the Bill, therefore, it will be well to regard the Bill as a whole and to pay special attention to clause 4. And it must be recognised that, even if it is established or conceded that

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some remedy is desirable, and that the proposed remedy would be effective, it is still possible that the remedy may be itself so mischievous that it ought to be abandoned and some alternative (if possible) attempted. In order to see whether this abstract possibility is a reality, it is necessary to consider the actual objections which have been put forward by the opponents of the Bill.

The principal objections to the Bill as a whole, stated apart from such professorial epithets as "impudent," "outrageous," "corrupting," are first that it creates class privileges, and is a breach of the great principle of "equality before the law," and secondly that it would have the effect of placing trade unions "above the law." At first sight the second objection appears to be similar to the first, if not identical with it, but really, if it means anything, it goes much further, and imputes to the Bill far more extravagant and revolutionary objects and effects. It is one thing to give to a particular class some privilege, something which other classes do not enjoy. It is quite another thing to set a class of men wholly "above the law." In dealing with the attacks on the Bill it will therefore be clearer to keep these two criticisms apart and consider whether either of them is really substantial.

With regard to the first objection, which may be summed up in the word "privilege," it is obvious that, if there is a grievance confined to a particular state of affairs or a particular class of persons, it may happen that the remedy for the grievance will be confined to the same state of affairs or class of persons. And it cannot be disputed that the recent development of the law which has led to the introduction of the Bill has in fact operated only against persons engaged in trade disputes. For example *Lyons v. Wilkins*, the "peaceful picketing" case, established case-law which operated in effect against trade unionists alone. It is therefore obvious that clause 2 of the Bill, which relaxes the law so established, must be in favour of trade unionists alone. But this simple circumstance hardly justifies the indignation and strong language which have been lavished upon it by an apparently serious critic. Of course, in all these cases the judges have professed and

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intended to act on general principles, and to apply these principles to the particular facts which happened to be brought before them. But the actual fact is that a new body of law has been growing up which has pressed in practice on trade unionists alone, and this not in consequence of any new conduct on their part calling for new remedies, but as the result of legal ideas and doctrines which at all events had not previously been generally recognised by lawyers or established in judgments. It may be remarked that the Courts have shown no inclination towards a similar development of the law in the analogous region of trade competition. In the well-known *Mogul* case, where there was a combination by a ring of shipowners to drive out intruders, by means of deliberate acts causing injury and even ruin to the intruders, the judges decided that this was a matter of trade competition, with which the law ought not to interfere. They have shown no such forbearance in cases of labour disputes, where the acts complained of are the result, not of a desire to put money into the defendants' pockets at the expense of their rivals, but of a desire to improve the conditions of labour of the class to which the defendants belong. These facts, that the recent development of the law has in fact pressed on trade unionists alone, and that a similar development has been carefully avoided in the case of trade competition, should not be forgotten when critics of the Trade Disputes Bill raise the cry of privilege, and complain that it is special legislation brought forward in the interest of trade unionists alone—not, for instance, in the interest of traders or shipowners.

Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising that no proposal has been made to meet the present difficulty to which this particular criticism would not apply with just as much (or as little) force as to the Bill itself. The recent Royal Commission was not composed of representatives of the working classes or of men of extreme views. Yet they proposed to cancel certain of the new causes of action, which pressed in practice on trade unionists alone. They proposed also to make a considerable exception to the general law of responsibility for acts of servants and agents, again in the interest of trade unionists alone. The present

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talk about privilege, and inequality before the law, if it really has any meaning at all, would apply to these proposals of the Commissioners. If the Government had followed the lines of their Report, or indeed had brought forward any measure whatever intended to redress a mischief and a danger which exist in one particular department of the State, it is pretty certain that they would have encountered precisely the same cries of indignation. If an evil exists in any department, any remedial legislation must apply to that department. Any opponent of that legislation may, if he pleases, call it privilege. Factory workers are protected by one body of special legislation, workmen generally with regard to their mode of payment by another. Technical lawyers may, if they please, describe the Factory and Workshop Act and the Truck Acts as privilege. Plain men are not much affected by such vituperative epithets, and prefer to consider rather whether any proposed legislation is or is not for the benefit of the community in general.

The second objection sounds more serious. It is that by the Bill, and especially by clause 4, trade unions or trade unionists would be placed "above the law," and that "nihilism" or "anarchy" would prevail in trade disputes. Metaphors of this kind are effective on platforms, but are not very illuminating in serious discussions. It is worth while to consider how much truth and reality lie behind them. In the first place, clause 4 would have no effect whatever on either the criminal or the civil liability of any individual who was guilty of an act which was either a crime or a civil wrong. If the Bill became law, every trade unionist would remain absolutely liable for any wrong act which he might do. No trade unionist has ever asked that it should be otherwise. So much for the accuracy of the now familiar allegation that trade unionists are asking to be placed "above the law." In cases of crime or violence remedies would remain which have not been ineffective in the past. Judges may be trusted to see that they will not be ineffective in the future.

But it is said that under the Bill trade unions will be above the law, if trade unionists are not. Even this is

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a wholly inaccurate expression. What the Government really propose is that workmen should be allowed to combine without establishing by the combination a corporation in the legal sense, and that they should be enabled to subscribe their money for all the purposes of trade unions, without the money subscribed being liable to be taken in execution in consequence of the acts of their officials. Whether these proposals are right or wrong, wise or unwise, it is an abuse of language to say that they amount to an attempt to put trade unions "above the law." There is no reason in the nature of things why any body of persons should be unable to combine without acquiring the technical legal status of a corporation, or why subscribed money should be seized in consequence of breaches of law by officials appointed by the subscribers. These results may perhaps be in accordance with technical legal doctrines and principles as recently developed in our law. But even as a matter of legal theory they are far from being inevitable. So recently as the time when the Taff Vale case was before the Court of Appeal they were rejected by very learned judges without hesitation. The principles involved, though familiar enough to lawyers in their practical application, are full of subtlety and difficulty. There is first the idea of collective existence and liability, at least to this extent, that a fund subscribed by individuals, and to some extent beyond their control, is the real object of liability. And secondly there is the idea of responsibility for the acts of others, not expressly commanded or authorised, but done "within the scope of their employment." This idea of responsibility for the acts of others is of course in familiar daily application in the case of ordinary companies carrying on a trade or business. It has been so applied, not as a matter of abstract justice, but because it has been found on the whole practically convenient to the community. It is not a matter of necessary reasoning or immutable justice that it should be applied to such an association as a trade union operating in the quasi-political region of trade disputes. As Lord Justice Mathew said in his judgment in the Denaby and Cadeby case, "With regard to the contention that the defendants can be regarded as an association for carrying on a business, and

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that they carry on their so-called business in defence of workmen by means of strikes, and that this operation is in all cases entrusted to the branches, an ordinary firm carrying on its business for profit is in no way analogous to a trade union." The question is whether it is on the whole for the benefit of the community that principles which apply to an ordinary firm or company should be extended to so very different an association as a trade union. In 1871 Parliament decided that the extension was unnecessary and undesirable. The experience of thirty years has done nothing to throw doubt on the wisdom of this decision. On the contrary, the dangers which would result to the community from a reversal of the policy of 1871 have been placed in a clear light by means of the discussion which has arisen out of the recent decisions of the Courts.

If the Bill becomes law, there is little doubt, as time goes on, that deeds will be done by men engaged in carrying on strikes which will be unjust, oppressive, illegal. Such deeds will give opportunities to opponents of the Government's policy to say that they are the result of the Bill, and that but for the Bill they would not have been done. But whatever laws are made or not made, we may be pretty certain that, in the stress and suffering which always attend labour disputes, men's conduct will at times be marked by injustice, oppression, illegality. Even the strictest application of the Taff Vale decision would not change human nature. But is there any reason to think, as a matter of probability and in the light of experience, that the exemption of trade unions from collective liability would lead to disorder and wrongdoing which might be avoided by holding to the Taff Vale decisions? The officials and leading men of trade unions have already the strongest motives for restraining disorder in the course of a strike, so far as it is in their power to restrain it. They know that the success of a strike depends largely on its orderly and well-disciplined character. They know how much depends, especially in case of a strike on a large scale, on the sympathy and approval of other unions and of the general public, and that this sympathy and approval are likely to be forfeited by violence and disorder. All experience shows that, as trade unions have become

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stronger and better organised, the leaders have advanced in reasonableness and practical good sense, and also have become more and more able to exercise a wholesome and restraining influence over the ordinary members of the union. Above all, we have the experience gained during the last thirty years, when trade unionists have been free in practice, and have believed themselves to be free in law, from the liability put upon them by the Taff Vale case. During that time the evils which are now predicted by critics of the Bill were not found in fact to follow from the practical exemption of trade union funds from liability. Lawlessness and disorder diminished, instead of growing worse. The good sense of leaders and followers, and the power of the criminal law, were sufficient to reduce to a minimum the evils which can never be wholly eradicated in times of strikes. The uniform experience of a generation is not a matter to be lightly disregarded.

The above considerations lead to the conclusion that the critics of the Government have no justification for the very violent language which they use about it. Their vituperative metaphors have no solid foundation. Their predictions of disastrous consequences are contrary alike to probability and to experience. And on the other hand it appears that the mischief of the present situation is undisputed, that no other remedy can be suggested which is not open to the same objections, and that the remedy proposed by the Government is an effective one. Any omission from the proposals now made by the Government, above all any weakening of clause 4, would imperil the effectiveness of the Bill. It is against any amendment which might have that result that it still remains necessary to guard.

ARTHUR LLEWELYN DAVIES

THE AIMS AND METHODS OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN RUSSIA

THE newspapers have been undeniably generous in the space devoted to the "Russian Revolution," and no Englishman has any excuse for being ignorant of the fact that, from one end to the other of the great eastern plain of Europe which we agree to call Russia, a gigantic civil war is now being waged—a war which must to a large extent determine the destinies, not only of Russia, but also of Europe as a whole. But, beyond a vague idea that a revolution of immense proportions is in progress, he can scarcely be expected to glean much as to the inner meaning of the struggle from the bomb-illuminated tableaux which give a flavour of excitement to the consumption of his morning bacon. Even if so ephemeral a product as an issue of a daily paper could contain news about developments and movements, rather than details of assassinations and pogroms, it would not be safe to trust its information. One who, like the present writer, has lived some six months in the Tsar's dominions and has come into contact with revolutionaries of many shades of opinion, can do little more than express his utter inability to grasp, with any pretence to finality, the extraordinarily complex situation now existing in Russia. For not only are the conditions at any given moment bewildering to an extreme, not only do they obtain over an immense area of the globe and touch many nationalities of different types, but they change from moment to moment, and change with remarkable rapidity. The best

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attempt in English to cover the whole field, is a book called *Russia and its Crisis*, by Professor Milyoukov, the leader of the Cadet party : but though it was published in 1905 and contains nearly six hundred pages, it is already to a large extent out of date ; while its treatment of the great revolutionary parties is quite inadequate. At the same time, it is a perfect mine of information in historical matters, and no one is more conscious of its invaluable utility than the author of this article, which indeed could hardly have been written without its aid.

It would seem a hopelessly impossible task at the present juncture to attempt to survey the entire battle-ground of revolution and reaction. Some light may however be thrown upon a perplexing problem, by isolating one element of it and seeking to show it up as clearly as possible. To this end I intend to take one of the great revolutionary parties, consider its aims and methods, and compare them with those of other branches in the revolutionary army, hoping that some readers of this review may thus be helped to a better understanding of the revolution as a whole. People are apt to imagine that the word "revolutionary" denotes a single political group, comprising those who are determined to overthrow the present *régime*. Certainly their common hatred of autocracy produced a certain apparent unity among the various parties, but it is only apparent. It is indeed said that thirteen political parties exist at this moment in Russia. This number indicates however an absence of solidarity, that is partly accounted for by the existence of several extremely small parties (one of which we shall have occasion to mention later) that have formed up behind the lines of the greater parties and have, either temporarily or permanently, split with the parent body. Often again, what at first sight appears to be a new political division proves on investigation to be merely a party-section organised for some special purpose. The Terrorists, for example, are merely the executive organisation of the Social Revolutionaries. Putting aside purely national parties, such as the Jewish Bund and the P. P. S. in Poland, and ostensibly non-revolutionary parties such as the Constitutional Democrats, Russia possesses only two

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revolutionary factions of any real importance: the Social Revolutionaries and the Social Democrats. It is the former of these that we shall consider.

In 1876 an organisation was started in Russia under the name of "Land and Liberty" for the carrying on of propaganda chiefly in the villages. Its members believed thoroughly in the people and in their capacity for creating of themselves a new socialistic order, once they could be induced to rise. They disclaimed any intention or desire to *instruct*. "Revolutions are the work of the masses as a whole," so ran the words of their programme. They were not to teach the people what to strive for, only to help them to prepare for the strife itself—the coming agrarian revolution. An extreme section of this party, calling itself the "Party of the People's Will," broke away from the main body. The chief cause of its secession was a discovery it made that while autocracy existed it was Utopian to be merely preparing for a hypothetical agrarian revolution. In short, while its members sympathised with and still worked for the ultimate socialistic aims of the "Land and Liberty" party, they found it necessary first to bring about a political revolution as a preliminary to the social one. This party was subsequently crushed, but its spirit survived and some years later found a reincarnation in the Social Revolutionary party. It is important to notice this compromise between socialistic ideals and political necessities, as, to this day, it forms the great feature of the Social Revolutionaries and distinguishes them from all their rivals. It gives them a middle position between the Constitutional Democrats on the one hand, who repudiate all socialistic tendencies as visionary, and the Social Democrats on the other, who in theory see in all political aspirations the mark of the bourgeois beast, though they are prepared in practice to work for the overthrow of autocracy. Their intermediate and comprehensive position, together with the fact that they alone carry on a successful propaganda among the peasants, gives the Social Revolutionaries so great an advantage over other Russian factions that it is not too much to predict that the future of their country lies with them.

Let us now turn and examine their programme in detail,

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and observe how it differs in principle from that of the Social Democrats. First, however, it must be mentioned that there are in reality two programmes : a Maximum and a Minimum. The former, which does not here concern us, is intended to be brought forward only after the revolution has become an accomplished fact, and includes such extreme socialistic measures as the abolition of all private property. It is interesting to notice in passing, that a small number of extremists, calling themselves Maximalists, have recently seceded from the party, with the intention of immediately putting this maximum programme into practice, since they are tired of the Fabian tactics of their leaders. This group, consisting almost entirely of youths, is alone responsible for the recent flagrant acts of Terrorism (such as the attack upon Stolypine and the robbery of the Moscow Credit Bank), which have most unfortunately alienated the sympathy of many foreigners who fail to realise the entire guiltlessness of the genuine Social Revolutionary party. With regard to the minimum, or working, programme, it may be observed in the first place that the Social Revolutionaries still retain the belief in the people exhibited by the old party of "Land and Liberty." They maintain that there already exist, among the agricultural population of Russia, aspirations and institutions which only require freedom of development to form an adequate foundation for the new order. For centuries the peasant has claimed that the land should be accessible to any one who chooses to till it, and this ancient claim is made the very basis of the social revolutionary economic. In this they differ fundamentally from the Social Democrats. The latter, as orthodox disciples of Marx, have accepted, without criticism, his sociological generalisation to the effect that every society must pass through the two stages of feudalism and capitalism before it can reach socialism. Applying this doctrine to Russia, they find her just entering upon the second of these stages. In other words, the capitalistic period must *of necessity* be traversed before the third and final stage can be realised. Moreover this middle period can never be concluded until society has been reduced to two classes only—capitalists and proletariat, and until capital has been concentrated into the

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hands of such a small number of men that they can be dispossessed with great ease by the proletariat. All, therefore, that can be done, is to hasten this process as much as possible by helping to develop an extreme class-consciousness, by making every one proletarians, and by organising strikes. Putting aside the dubious validity of Marx's sociology, there are certain obvious objections to the social democratic programme, that immediately suggest themselves. First of all a proletariat is, practically speaking, non-existent in Russia. The agriculturists out-number the wage-earners by an enormous proportion. The idea of converting the entire agricultural population of Russia into a proletariat, which could only be done by depriving them of their land, is ridiculous. The Mir, the Russian village commune, which the Social Revolutionaries make the basis of their social structure, the Social Democrats declare must be abolished in order to proletarianise the peasants, whom they try to pacify by promising to give them back the land which was withheld from them by their landlords at the time of their emancipation. It follows of course that until the peasant becomes proletarian he is useless as revolutionary material ; so the Social Democrats confine themselves almost entirely to propaganda among the working classes. Not a few of them however are conscious that this attitude towards the land question is a rotten plank in their platform, and they have recently split into two parties—one known as the *Minority*, including the old Marxian orthodox Social Democrats, and the other calling itself the *Majority*, differing very little in principle from the Social Revolutionaries, appealing to the peasants, and promising them land.

The foregoing examination of the principles of Russian Social Democracy will serve to bring out more forcibly the comparative merits of the social revolutionary programme. While the former is founded on the theories of a German doctrinaire, the latter finds its basis in real Russian institutions, in especial the Mir, and in the old claim of the peasants that the land should be at the service of him who tills it. Indeed, since Russia is almost entirely an agricultural country, any programme that fails to make the land question an all-important feature can scarcely be considered

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worthy of notice. The Social Revolutionaries rightly look upon the peasant as "a tremendous force upon which the realisation of the economic reconstruction of society depends in the future," and accordingly the land question is that which bulks largest in their programme. Nor do they fail to take into account, together with his needs, the peasant's ideas and habits of mind.

Now the Russian peasant has a very curious and instructive conception of ownership: he regards the land as owned by God, by nobody, by anybody. The land in short is there to be tilled, not to be owned. In strict accordance with this conception, the Social Revolutionary Party places land nationalisation at the head of its economic programme. But it is nationalisation of a peculiar nature, since it does not imply expropriation in its ordinary sense, but lays down the axiom that every man shall be at liberty to till for his own use as much land as any other man. In other words, while landed property will disappear, any one may enjoy the usufruct of the land who will take the trouble to work for it. Furthermore it does not imply a collective or communal system of agriculture, seeing that individual culture is all that the peasant desires or understands at present. Anarchic as this system may sound to western ears, it would work very easily under the Mir, a local government body which would distribute the land to those who actually wished to till it themselves. Forests, fishing rights, etc., are, according to the programme, to be administered by the larger local boards for the benefit of the community as a whole, while the nation will undertake the superintendence of roads, etc.

With regard to the peasant, therefore, the social revolutionary policy is simply to stir him up to claim what he regards as his ancient and inalienable right, and to look to the revolutionaries rather than to the Tsar, of whose beneficial intentions he is at last despairing. "We do not believe," said the party of Land and Liberty in 1876, "that it is possible by means of any propaganda to form in the people's minds ideals different from those developed by the whole previous history of the people." This is still an axiom with the Social Revolutionaries, and this it is

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that chiefly distinguishes them from the Social Democrats. The latter wish to alter the peasant's economic condition entirely, the former propose to leave him as he is, or rather as he would like to be. Thus, though they are revolutionary politicians, they are strictly speaking evolutionary socialists, and may be compared in this respect, as in many others, with the Fabian Society in England. The results of their land policy, as far as they can predict, will be as follows. First, large properties will disappear; the proprietors receiving no compensation but being entitled to State-aid until sufficient time has elapsed for them to adjust themselves to the new conditions. Secondly, the underpaid proletariat will drift off to the land, with the natural consequence that factory wages will go up. And lastly, agricultural work will be better done and production therefore will be greater.¹

The Social Revolutionaries look forward to the ultimate socialistic state with as much confidence as the Social Democrats. Yet in respect of land nationalisation alone do they advocate the immediate application of anything approaching to full-blown socialism. In other ways their economic programme resembles that of the Fabians in England to a remarkable degree. No instantaneous abolition of private property is contemplated. A gradual absorption of capital by the State through a progressive income-tax and death duties, incomes below a certain amount being free, is all that is agitated for at present.

A similar Fabian policy is to be adopted towards the Labour question. There is to be no immediate expropriation of capital; all that is proposed is the "safeguarding of the mental and physical forces of the working classes in town and country, and the increase of their capacity for their further struggle for socialism."² This protection of the labourer will comprise the following details:—

(1) The reduction of the working day to eight hours for most industries, and a shorter time for more dangerous and unhealthy ones.

¹ This would of course be on the "intensive" system, for an exposition and defence of which see Kropotkin's *Fields, Factories and Work-shops*.

² From the recently published party programme.

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(2) The establishment of a minimum wage to be arranged by the local government bodies and the trades unions.

(3) State insurance for accidents, illness, unemployment, and old age to be administered at the expense of the government and the employers.

(4) Legislative protection of labour ; inspection of factories by a body elected by the working classes.

(5) The encouragement of workmen's organisations and their gradual admission to the administration of industrial institutions.

Next to the economic proposals in importance come those dealing with social organisation. Here again the Social Revolutionaries differ fundamentally from the Social Democrats, who are opposed, on the principle of the denationalisation of labour, to all ideas of federalism and local government, except in so far as concessions have to be made to the nationalistic aspirations of certain branches of their party ; for example in Poland, Georgia, and Armenia. The Social Revolutionaries, on the other hand, are for unqualified decentralisation on federal and municipal lines. Here again their policy is based on a recognition of existing institutions and aspirations. Indeed the machinery is there all ready to their hand, and only requires the requisite freedom of action to work of itself. At the bottom there is the Mir, in whose power will rest the distribution of land. Above this comes the Zemstvo or county council, a local government body which, until it fell under the displeasure of the present government, was doing excellent work in Russia. Above the Zemstvos again, will be representative assemblies corresponding with the various nationalities in Russia. Each nationality will have home rule, while a central federal parliament representing all will exist for dealing with foreign affairs and for discussing other matters of common interest. A country like Poland, for example, would be content with nothing short of complete autonomy ; at the same time it would welcome a voice in the federal council, and the aid of the other nationalities in the inevitable struggle that must eventually take place with Germany.

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Before leaving this topic, it is as well to insist again on the social revolutionary doctrine that the local government boards shall have as much liberty as possible, both in matters of taxation and in municipal enterprise, as this seems to tally exactly with the natural tendency of Russian affairs as exemplified in the growth of the *Zemstvos*.¹ We have, it may be observed, a similar tendency in England, and like the Social Revolutionaries the Fabian Society see in it the basis of the coming socialism.

Want of space forbids our following out this fascinating part of the programme into its details, and we must now turn and examine the political side of the revolutionary movement. In this direction the aims of Social Democrats and Social Revolutionaries are practically identical and may be stated very briefly. They both demand the election of a constituent assembly by universal suffrage, and the establishment of a Republic. In such an assembly, the Social Revolutionaries will retain the programme outlined above, while during the revolutionary period they attempt to carry it out by their own forces. Both parties again hold that the present *régime* must be destroyed before anything new can be thought of. Autocracy is a fatal bar to the realisation of every item of their socialistic programme. Their first task, therefore, must be a war to the death with those in present possession of power. This, however, is the limit of their agreement. On the question of ways and means the two revolutionary factions part company. Let us turn therefore and consider the methods advocated by the Social Revolutionaries, and the weapons they employ against autocracy. And this brings us to what is at once the most prominent and the most misunderstood phenomenon of the revolution—that of Terrorism. The policy of Terrorism may be said to have originated in the attempt by Vera Zasoolich upon the life of Trepoff, the father of the late Prefect of the Police, in 1878. The attempt was made at the bidding of no party, but the public approval of such acts was shown by the jury who acquitted the would-be assassin at her trial. This acquittal proved to the revolutionaries that they had behind them the sympathies of

¹ See Milyoukov, p. 288 and onwards.

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educated Russian society, and very soon afterwards the "Executive Committee of the Social Revolutionaries" was founded.¹ That Terrorism has been retained in its prominent position in the programme of the party for twenty-eight years, is sufficient indication of its approved efficiency as a revolutionary weapon. Very few people, we imagine, know exactly what ends Terrorism is intended to serve, and therefore it will not be amiss to consider what can be said both for and against its use. In doing so there is no necessity to enter into the ethics of political assassination. Suffice it to point out to those persons who refuse to countenance assassination, whatever plea may be used in support of it, that Russia is just now in a state of civil war, and that, since the destruction of an enemy's life has always been regarded as a legitimate method of carrying on warfare, Terrorism, though doubtless a somewhat novel method of slaughter, can only be condemned by those who absolutely condemn warfare of every kind. But leaving casuistry aside and keeping to a strictly utilitarian view of the question, two objections, frequently urged against Terrorism, may be noticed. The first is that not only does it offer a convenient cover behind which the ordinary criminal may take shelter from the just punishment of his actions, but that it tends in general to weaken the hold of traditional morality upon the masses. There is a good deal of truth in this, as must be admitted. In certain districts, for example, in Finland, where there exists not the smallest reason at the present moment for any terroristic outrages, the ill-balanced and uncritical are inclined to imitate the deeds for which people in Russia proper receive the crown of martyrdom. In Russia itself, on the other hand, Terrorism, so far from having a demoralising effect upon the population, produces, as we shall see, a distinctly beneficial result; and as for criminals posing as revolutionaries they usually find it more convenient to pose as police—if they do not already wear the gendarme's uniform! In short, though a certain amount of demoralisation must inevitably ensue from Terrorism, as from any other type of warfare, we may safely assume that, in so far as the ends of the Terrorists

¹ Milyoukov, p. 416.

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are relatively more lofty than those for which any ordinary war is undertaken, so its ultimate effects will in the end be relatively less harmful. Of a less serious nature is the second objection to Terrorism, brought forward by the Social Democrats. It is to the effect that such a policy will enervate the population, who, seeing that a group of agitators with bombs are gaining their freedom for them, will sit still and not attempt to act for themselves. This argument, which shows how ignorant the Social Democrats are of the real peasant psychology, is sufficiently disposed of by the justification that the Social Revolutionaries themselves give of their policy, and which we will therefore now consider.

The explanation of the terroristic policy is at once so interesting and convincing that it is surprising that more attention has not been given to it. Professor Milyoukov seems indeed never to have heard of it, since he refers to Terrorism as a means of producing "a deep impression both on the government and on Russian educated society."¹ Doubtless the Terrorists have this end in view, but if so it is quite a secondary consideration with them. Were it all they aimed at, Terrorism might be described with truth as both criminal and childish, since it is obvious that, however many Plehves fall by the assassin's hand, there are always other Plehves ready to take their place. By demoralising the forces of bureaucracy, as it undoubtedly tends to do, it of course paves the way towards the political revolution which is the immediate object of all Russian socialists; but that result in itself would be a scarcely sufficient justification for such extreme measures. The true motives of the Terrorists are much deeper and more far-reaching than anything of this kind. Their real design is not to intimidate or demoralise the government, not even to attract the attention and sympathy of the educated classes, but to produce a profound, permanent and invigorating impression upon the agricultural masses of Russia—in fact to do just the opposite of what the Social Democrats accuse them of doing. Terrorism is therefore strictly in accordance with the design to bring about that ultimate agrarian revolution

¹ Milyoukov, p. 416.

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for which the Social Revolutionary Party exists. In order to make this matter quite clear, it is necessary to indulge in a little revolutionary philosophy. Buckle distinguished two types of civilisation which he called respectively primary and secondary, but which speaking popularly we may call oriental and occidental. One great factor which differentiates the two types, is the mental condition of the masses. In an occidental civilisation the entire population is comparatively progressive and takes an active part in the work of government : in an oriental civilisation the people are passive, resigned, unprogressive, and take no part in their own government. Russia, lying between Asia and Europe, was bound sooner or later to decide which form of civilisation she would adopt ; and it is an exceedingly instructive view to take of the present civil war raging within its borders, if we regard it as a death struggle between the forces of occidentalism and orientalism. If this view is a sound one, the issue of the conflict we are now witnessing may decide the future of both continents. The immediate question then is, shall Russia become an Asiatic empire or a European democracy ? Now the answer to this momentous question, as the Social Revolutionaries recognise, depends entirely upon the attitude of the peasant. The peasant, as we have seen, is conscious of certain claims and rights of his own, but, when the day comes, will he have the energy and the inclination to assert them ? In earlier times he was energetic and self-assertive enough, but there is reason to believe that centuries of disappointment and degradation have deadened his spirit and encouraged him in that resigned oriental habit of mind which, if it is allowed to remain undisturbed, will prove the cause of his own ruin and that of Russia. The darkness of despair that has settled upon him, is expressed in the current proverbs of the day. "God is far above, and the Tsar far away," gives vent to a profound pessimism, while "You can't split an axe with a whip" is the utterance of an impotent rage against the overwhelming forces of oppression. To check this growing spirit of despondency, to make the peasant realise that there is yet justice somewhere in the world, some startling action was necessary that would be at once striking to his imagin-

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ation and terrible for his enemies. "The people ask for a sign"—a miracle was needed. Long ago that trust in a providence, who will eventually punish the evil doer, had been lost. It was necessary to re-create it. Accordingly the Social Revolutionary Party have set themselves the task of acting as providence to the peasant, of bringing a sudden and awful punishment upon his oppressors, and so of encouraging him to lift up his head and look his enemies in the face. Nothing but Terrorism could have answered this purpose. The very nature of the instrument of destruction, the suddenness of the blow, the mystery surrounding the deliverer—an unknown man sent by an unknown power—all tend to impress the popular imagination enormously. Here was a power, men thought, before which their tyrants trembled; here was justice and salvation at last. When Plehve fell all Russia rejoiced, for all Russia felt the stirrings of a long forgotten hope; the very gates of Hell seemed to burst. And when by means of propaganda and the distribution of pamphlets the peasant began to realise who his deliverers were and what they hoped to do for him, if only he would rise up and help them to throw off the chains of the tyrant, he naturally received the emissaries with open arms. A police report of 1902 states that revolutionary leaflets "are willingly read by the peasants, and they pass from one to another; sometimes they are even publicly read before a crowd of peasants. And, after having made themselves acquainted with the contents of that literature, the peasants begin to look for a coming division of the landlords' estates among themselves; and their relations with the neighbouring landlords become more or less strained."¹ Terrorism is certainly producing its desired effect. Every day the peasant gains more confidence and becomes less inclined to accept his lot calmly; and the time cannot now be far distant, when a general rising of the peasants will take place all over Russia, organised by the Social Revolutionary Party. Then, and not till then, will the "Russian Revolution" really begin; for what is now considered as such, is merely a series of manœuvres, on the part of the opposing forces, as a preliminary to the real struggle. Once the

¹ Milyoukov, p. 509.

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struggle has commenced, once the peasant has begun to move, the Social Revolutionaries are confident of victory. And, victory attained, that part of their programme relating to the land question will, they feel assured, find an immediate and natural realisation in accordance with the dearest desires of the peasants. The rest of the programme will be agitated for in the constituent assembly, which will meet on the basis of universal suffrage, and in which they hope to receive the support of the peasant vote. Lastly, when the political revolution and the agrarian revolution are accomplished facts and the Social Revolutionary minimum programme an actuality, the maximum programme, embodying complete socialism, will be brought forward, or, it should perhaps be said, will in course of time develop naturally from the fulfilment of the minimum programme.

To indulge in such visions and to believe in their ultimate possibility, is perhaps that which most of all, save actual success, gives value to life in the eyes of a political or revolutionary enthusiast. Nor does it seem at all improbable that, in the case of the Social Revolutionaries, their dreams will be realised. It will depend, as everything else in Russia must depend, upon the peasants; and no one can lay claim to a greater knowledge of the peasants than the Social Revolutionaries, who for years past have organised a special "Agrarian League" for the purpose of studying the peasant's needs and stirring him up to action. Yet an ignorant outsider may be allowed to tremble a little, while at the same time he admires this sublime confidence in the good sense and ultimate sanity of the masses. For, when the floods are out, who can say what house will be able to stand against them?

WILDOVER JOHNSON

LETTING IN THE JUNGLE

WHEN Mr. Upton Sinclair's book drew the attention of the British public to the condition of certain Chicago meat-packers, the British public thanked God effusively that it was not as that publican. Senator Lodge has remarked that this savours of arrogance : but if Senator Lodge knew as much about Great Britain as some of his fellow-countrymen do, he would know that it is not arrogance but ignorance that enables us to cultivate this spirit of thankfulness.

Those who point the finger of scorn at Chicago simply do not know why the horrors of Chicago were inevitable, and why similar horrors are inevitable everywhere as soon as men allow business to be organised upon the same principles. Chicago distressed and shocked us, because the details were not only immoral but disgusting ; but the disgusting facts ought not to blind us to the immoral facts, or we shall be content to suppose that nothing more is needed to purify business than a clean floor.

We cherish the illusion that because as a nation we do not believe in monopolies we are therefore safe from them. We did not believe in monopolies in the days of Queen Elizabeth ; she, good woman, did believe in them ; wherefore she listened sympathetically to the protests of her faithful Commons, swore a great oath that there should be no more monopolies at all, and continued to grant them as soon as her faithful Commons' back was turned.

We do not believe in monopolies now : we know that they mean bad work and low wages, poison to the consumer, slavery and starvation to the producer ; and yet so greedy

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are we of cheapness, so delighted at the notion of making a better bargain than we have any right to expect, that we fall as easy victims to the organisers of monopolies as any of the Americans whom we regard so loftily. We are easier victims than they, because we never see it. We really believe in advertisements, and we never look ahead; and so a man or a company of men may with a very ordinary equipment of wits cajole us out of almost any piece of business you like to mention.

It is all managed on the same principle as a conjuring trick; the attention of the spectator is drawn to what the performer is not doing, and by the time he finds out that he has been looking in the wrong direction, it is all over. Thus we looked at the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and did not see the *Times* Library Trick: we looked at the articles upon brandy and other commodities "written by our advertising staff, and all of a most educational character," but we did not see the *Times* Jumble Sale: we look at the cheap books, but we are blind to the undoing of literature and the reduction of an art to the level of a ready-made clothing factory.

And then we go home and say how clever it all is. It is clever, without doubt. The quantity of brains employed in this country seven days a week, with the sole aim of getting A to buy from C what he has hitherto bought from B, probably exceeds the intellectual capital of any two of the learned professions. It is not an aim that attracts quite the best brains; because it is immoral, and the best brains of all are not immoral, at any rate in that way; but it attracts more and more of the second best, and that is a serious danger to the community. We shall probably never have a man who might have been a Judge turning his whole wits to the capture of the trade in tenpenny nails: it is bad enough when a man may hesitate between a university career and the post of advertisement writer to a syndicate of wine merchants.

The Elizabethan monopolist depended upon the favour of the Sovereign: the monopolist of to-day depends upon that of the mob; but the road to favour is the same, and the art of flattery is the one art which pays for

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cultivation. There will probably be an Advertisement Tripos at Cambridge in a few years; and the University will be able to boast that it has achieved the combination of humanistic education with a training for the business of life.

There has lately appeared a reprint from the *Times* of 1852, containing the story of a contest in which, as the *Times* tells us, certain publishers and booksellers, striving to monopolise their trade, were worsted by the public. They were in fact worsted by three arbitrators whose decision they had themselves invited—Lord Campbell, Mr. Milman, and Mr. Grote—none of whom cared much for the public; but as the *Times* desires to enlist the support of the public at this moment against the publishers, it is natural that the struggle of fifty years ago should appear to it to offer the closest possible parallel with that in which it is now engaged. There is, however, a considerable difference: and not the least important factor in that difference is to be found in the recent history of the *Times*. Fifty years ago the *Times* was a great and independent newspaper: if it lectured the crest-fallen members of the Booksellers' Association somewhat pompously, no one could suggest that it had a financial interest in their defeat: if it rejoiced rather fatuously over their defeat as the defeat of a monopoly and the triumph of Free Trade, nobody laughed. Fifty years ago the *Times* had not the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on its conscience, nor the Book Club—not intended to pay, except as a means of selling the *Times*—nor the May Jumble Sale (“£220,000 of books for £25,000”), nor the puffings of hotels and wine merchants. But how cleverly it has all been done! At each stage of the proceedings somebody is hit, and the rest of us with ordinary human spitefulness are pleased, until our turn comes. The man who did not buy the *Encyclopædia*, in spite of the *Times* entreaties to do so before the price was raised, either thanks God that he has not got it, or buys it secondhand for a five-pound note. The groans of the circulating libraries, trying to do a little business while the *Times* undersells them merely by way of an advertisement, the quavering protests of the bookseller who lays in a stock of a new novel only to find it in rows on the

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Times shelves at 1s. 2d., each in its turn is balanced by a glow of satisfaction in the breasts of those who are yet unassailed, and even see their way to making a good thing out of the performance.

But the crowning stroke was to manœuvre the publishers on to ground where the 1852 arbitration could be trained upon them—to pose as the champion of an innocent public against the crafty monopolists. It does not matter that every one who has followed the facts knows that the publishers are really fighting against the cleverest and most persistent attempt to gain control over every branch of a trade that has yet been made in this country. The public does not follow the facts ; and it is to the public that the appeal is made. The public does not like monopolies : it does not in the least know what constitutes a monopoly : it has no particular sympathy with publishers ; and when the *Times*, which has been for months flattering it and cajoling it, persuading it that it knows about literature, appealing to all its base little instincts of snobbery and greed, cries to it for support against the monopolist Publisher,—why the *Times* does a very clever thing. And unless the publishers and the booksellers and the writers and a good quantity of the readers of this country collect their senses and take the trouble to see what it means to have the production of literature at the mercy of an organisation which avowedly uses each branch of that production in turn solely as a means to increase the circulation of a newspaper, we shall presently see in full working order a monopoly as destructive of good work and honest trade, and as degrading to everybody concerned, as any sausage-making syndicate in the world. But we do not believe in monopolies.

R. F. CHOLMELEY

RELIGION AND POLITICS IN IRELAND

IS Clericalism, then, the enemy in Ireland? Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington answers, and answers in italics, Yes.¹ Nobody can object to that. Assume the incidents selected by him to be typical, and construe them in terms of his apostolic temperament, and what could be the outcome save a swinging and denunciatory article? But the picture painted by him is allowable only on condition that it is not mistaken for the total reality. Its hard glare, uncorrected by the atmosphere which a living experience of Irish life supplies, is certainly not adapted to English vision. One shudders to think of its effects on that important and slightly pathetic figure, the friendly Liberal who, setting out as a missionary of reparation, finds his most obstinate principles denied, and his most sacred prejudices rapped on the knuckles at every turn, by the nation he is anxious only to redeem.

Clerical dictation is surely a phrase whose very lineaments suggest a tainted past. It has been raised against every demand for the widening of popular power in Ireland. We know how savage and how sadly effective it was during the discussion of Mr. Gladstone's proposals of 1886 and 1893. With but that phrase and nothing more in his budget, an Orange orator was accounted fit for the road. Orangeism is rapidly receding into archæology; the kindest thing that can be said of it is that it is a quaint survival; and in these circumstances the old cry is lifted on the winds once more, but this time in the name of progressive Democracy! What is our Liberal, groping about in a state of what Mrs. Craigie has called "bewildered rectitude,"

¹ "Michael Davitt's Unfinished Campaign." *Independent Review*, Sept. 1906.

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to think or to do? I do not for a moment appeal to the counsel that there are scandals which ought to be kept in the family. The truth will leak out even in an ex-Chief Secretary's letter. Certainly, no Irishman of the present generation can be persuaded that it is the duty of Ireland, or of any disinherited nation, to maintain a pose of stained-glass saintliness under the scrutiny of her conqueror. There is no scandal to cover up. Catholic Ireland is no monster of virtue. She has her characteristic problems, vices and limitations; but there is no jury of even moderate fairness before which she need be timid of appearing.

The chief complaint I have to make against Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington is this: he totally ignores the new forces in Ireland. If there is one thing on which everybody who walks through the country with open eyes and ears is agreed, it is that the whole fabric of Irish opinion is in process of reconstruction. It is a matter not so much of this or that concrete event as of a change of psychological climate. We have had a quarter of a century of Intermediate Education, and practically the same of the Royal University; and defective as both undeniably are, you cannot put books into the hands and ideas into the heads of your children for twenty-seven years and fail to sweep away certain cobwebs. There is one virtue, at all events, that has been developed by our machinery of instruction, and that is freedom of mind. Anybody who knows Dublin, for instance, knows that there is no human problem, from the striping of a Connaught ranch to the perilous novels of Fogazzaro, from the proper method of teaching Irish to the latest movement in French verse, but has entered and exercised the minds of some group or other. He knows that he can find men and women who will discuss these problems with the most absolute adieu to prejudices, and who, whatever they fall short in, possess the fundamental piety, the piety of the intellect.

This new generation is only a beginning, but it gathers recruits with every year's crop of students, and Ireland is beginning to march to its step. Somewhat meagre in production, perhaps, so far, through a debilitated national will, through poverty and the lack of an intellectual

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tradition, it will have soon lived down what are after all but the pains of growth. Up to the present its characteristic creation has been the Gaelic League; although that organisation, with its miraculous avoidance of the root issues, political and philosophical, by no means expresses the full tide of new ideas. What glimmer of recognition of this transformation do we find in Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington's article? Does he not tell the old story in practically the old way, and summon up the old nightmare of a "priest-ridden" country which a French observer,¹ of great talent, writing on the subject a couple of months ago dismissed with a shrug of his shoulders?

There is no such thing in Ireland as Clericalism. There are individual priests. The distinction is not a mere debating paradox; it is a commonplace, familiar to the mind of the least subtle Irish peasant. Catholic theology fixes a gulf between the man and his ministry when it teaches that, however stained and corrupt the hand that raises the chalice, the priestly function is not intermitted, and the Sacrament comes as miraculously to the worshipper as from the hands of a saint. But the peasant does not need to go to the books of theology to effect this separation. It is borne in on him at every turn. What he has to reckon with in his life is not a black abstraction called Clericalism, but Father X, Father Y, and Father Z. At Mass it is not, perhaps, necessary to set one above the other; but in the secular sphere, in which precisely the priest, as such, is supposed to exercise a disastrous tyranny, the simplest countryman very soon finds out where the good head and the generous heart are located, and he acts on his discovery. A great politico-moral issue like the Parnellite Split no doubt forms an exception, and carries the untrained masses into waters in which they can hardly be expected to swim. But in affairs that come home with a biting concreteness to them, such as the land, or the simple teaching of the children, they very rapidly learn to take the priest at his human value. There is always, indeed, a little superadded respect, and at times, perhaps, a touch of subservience. To

¹ Cf. "L'Irlande Religieuse." A notable article by M. Louis Paul-Dubois in *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, Aug. 15, 1906.

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fawn is human. Leo XIII spoke with that gentle humour of his of Catholic historians who, if they had to write the story of the Gospels, would suppress the denial of St. Peter in order to gratify the Pope. It will not seem scandalous to those who can understand humanity without despising it, that a Mayo cottier should now and then be capable of a little genial slavishness. But I would like to meet the parish priest who could so manage this trifling weakness of his parishioners as to induce them, say, to give thirty years' purchase for their farms. The peasant does not know Clericalism; he knows priests, and he chooses between them. When he finds, as I have found, two neighbouring parish priests, of whom one is an evicting landlord—and there are landlord priests—and the other a stout and capable champion of the tenants, he exercises a freedom of criticism, in word and deed, that would probably scare some of his pitying anti-clerical friends. He follows the lead of the economic sense.

But it is, it seems, in the field of higher politics that we are to find Clericalism at work. Mr. Davitt foretold a conflict in which one party would fight on the programme of a Catholic University, the other on that of social reform. This University Question is a fruitful mother of bad dreams, and troubles the sleep of many among our best friends. Is it, in fact, so appalling? The modern conscience is represented as shuddering at the notion of a clerical University. I do not go so far as to say that traces of such a demand are not to be found in the condemnation of the Queen's Colleges in 1845, and in subsequent pronouncements of the Catholic Bishops. But surely, even a Bishop is entitled to keep pace with the evolution of public thought. If anybody wishes to observe the ordinary courtesies of discussion, and find out what the Bishops really say, he will turn to the Episcopal Resolution of 1896, and the Official Statement laid before the Robertson Commission of 1901. In both there is a definite rejection of the scheme of a clerical University, a demand for a preponderance of laymen on the governing body, and an abandonment of the claim, if ever it was made, for the endowment of a theological faculty out of public funds. The campaign cry, too, has changed.

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The Bishop of Limerick, who combines a brilliant intellect with an atrocious temper, is depicted by Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington as the St. Michael of all the reactions. He published, not very long ago, a pamphlet on the subject, intended for the Catholic masses, and in his title and his argument he demands not a "Catholic University" but a "University for Catholics." The change is no mere verbal juggle. We find it worked out at length in the latest constructive effort of importance, a lecture delivered by Mr. John Dillon, M.P., some two years ago. Mr. Dillon outlined a scheme for the establishment of a National University, invested with complete academic freedom, immune from religious tests, and inspired by the spirit of progressive Democracy. His proposals were, naturally, discussed eagerly throughout the whole country, and not one authoritative word of disapproval came from the Bishops. If with these facts we collate one or two of the anomalies which everybody tolerates, we shall attain to a juster view of things. For example: the Queen's Colleges are supposed to be under the Episcopal ban, but Dr. Windle, who is not merely a Catholic but an educational expert, is at this present moment President of one of them. And it is notorious that he has not so far been excommunicated with any very flagrant publicity. Trinity College is in just the same case, but Lord Chief Baron Palles who went there himself, and Sir Christopher Nixon who sent his son, do not customarily dress in sackcloth and ashes. These are facts with which everybody is acquainted; and Irish opinion does something more than take its revenge on them with a sweet and charitable humour. It recognises them as deductions from the principle that mixed University Education is in the Catholic view not impossible but only in certain conditions undesirable, and that by far the most important condition is not a state of material facts but a state of mind.

If we turn to politics proper, do we find the case blacker? It is true that Mr. Healy still sits for North Louth, and that for this he has mainly to thank Cardinal Logue. But there are two things to be said. Mr. Healy may be a calamity, but he is also a genius; and a political organisation must occasionally suffer a little evil that a great good may come.

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Let us grant that Mr. Healy at the General Election was a clerical candidate ; does it follow that clerical candidates always win ? There was another in Newry, Mr. Carvill. He appeared before the electors, bearing on his shield a very strong letter of recommendation from the Catholic Bishop of Dromore, he had the backing of practically all the local priests, but he was easily defeated by the official candidate of the Parliamentary party. Take a still more remarkable phenomenon. By far the most brilliant reputation among the younger men in Irish politics is Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P. His victory in West Belfast was the first-fruits of a movement which possesses the secret of the future, the organisation, namely, of parties in Ireland on the basis not of religious prejudice and inherited bias, but on that of economic interest. He was elected by a junction of Protestant with Catholic working-men. And if we look into Mr. Devlin's early history we find that he won his spurs by defeating the attempt of his Bishop, Dr. Henry, to substitute the term " Catholic " for " Nationalist " as the party-label in Belfast, and to set a Catholic Association in the place of a National Organisation.

I do not propose to discuss the English Education Bill. I agree with Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington in despising the Duke of Norfolk, and the rest of the noble gentlemen who have been whimpering from behind the shelter of the poor Catholic Irishman, driven into exile by the Toryism of which they are such distinguished props. Nothing makes me so happy as to think that there will always be a good misunderstanding between them and our Irish Catholic people. The antics of that Music-Hall Tertullian, Father Bernard Vaughan, fill me with joy because I know that Irish Catholicism has always been characterised by good taste, and that he is helping to save us in Ireland from being anglicised through the medium of our Faith. It was not on behalf of them that the Irish party fought during the debates on the Education Bill, but on behalf of their disinherited kinsmen. It is, indeed, easy to see indignities and dangers in the present juncture. It is lamentable from the Irish point of view that the English Catholics should have been furnished with a fresh bevy of selfish reasons for

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resisting Home Rule. And from the purely religious point of view it is a pity that English Catholicism should be so long in learning the lesson of self-reliance. For in the end it is by its own inner forces that it must grow; and if it relies on stakes and trellises erected to-day by outside hands only perhaps to be swept away to-morrow, how can one have faith in its future? The situation is still admittedly a delicate one; but there is not a Liberal of repute who has failed to appreciate the tact and sureness with which Mr. Redmond has kept his ship in the narrow channel. So far the two conflicting ideas, political deliverance for Ireland, and religious freedom for Catholics in England, have not been put to the Irish Party as alternatives of which one and only one must be chosen. Were it possible to set them in direct antithesis, does any one entertain the faintest doubt as to the result? The first voice that would be raised to assert the supremacy of the National Idea would come from the Irish outpost in England.

I do not wish to suggest that there is no room for growth and betterment in the Irish Priesthood. Like the rest of us they have to adjust themselves to a future, the trend of which is not at first sight obvious. The movement everywhere is towards a more exacting self-consciousness, and in the inner places of the Church, too, the waters have begun to be troubled. Within the last year Dr. MacDonald, the President of the Honours Establishment at Maynooth, has taken a chief hand in establishing a *Theological Review*,¹ which for freshness, actuality and the note of spiritual adventure, need not feel antiquated in any company. Dr. MacDonald, too, is known in other fields of reform. With the distinguished Jesuit, Father Peter Finlay, he has pleaded for the introduction into Ireland of the Parish System which exists in America, and which apparently was general in the days before the "Reformation." According to this plan, the secular and financial side of religious organisation would be in the hands of a lay Committee, and the priests would be set free for a purely

¹ *The Irish Theological Quarterly*.

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spiritual mission. With this self-consciousness and self-criticism at work within the walls of the very seminaries, we are justified in expecting a rapid development. Dr. O'Dwyer is the last man in the world one would hope to detect in an act of public humility. But it is Dr. O'Dwyer who has said of his fellow-priests the bitterest thing that has been said in recent years. "Many of them," he told the Robertson Commission, "are deficient in that indefinable thing which is not knowledge but culture. . . . Something you cannot put your hand on, a something which cultivates a sense of honour, and a right judgment with regard to the affairs of life." The criticism is as extravagant as might have been expected. But if it points to a weakness, it is a weakness which by becoming aware of itself has already begun the task of amendment.

Most assuredly we have our problems. This question of Clericalism runs down to deeper bases. The conception of an idealism petrified into a profession will continue to be for many of the most generous minds at once a temptation and a new philosophy of life. The layman, not very heroic indeed in his own sphere, will continue to cry out for priestlier priests. The private wealth of this or that missionary of a gospel of renunciation will not fail to trouble and scandalise, although the scandal, it must be remarked, is not likely to rival that furnished by, let us say, the Archbishop of Canterbury. In politics we shall see many times repeated a contradiction familiar to every student of Irish History.

When '98 memorials are unveiled it is customary to talk of the inseparable union of Priests and people in the cause of Ireland; those who have read the books know that while the Wexford insurgents did no doubt fight under the leadership of some of their priests, the authorities of Maynooth College were at that moment engaged in expelling such of their students as were tainted with popular sympathies, and the President was writing letters to Dublin Castle repudiating the "drunken Roches and Murphys." On the other side we shall find some of the very noblest priests displaying the same sort of resentment that we often see in fathers when their children begin to grow up, and to

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rely on themselves. Voices will be found to cry out denial where there is only development, and no doubt a life or two will be broken in the name of religion by those who profess only to betray it. This is the price of intellectual advance, and the new generation in Ireland is perfectly willing to pay it. The dawn can only be gradual, and after its fashion rather chilly. It will be a long time before democracy in Ireland will have been so taken into the blood that people will cease to talk about the priests as the "natural leaders" of the people. This consummation can only be reached when the intelligence and conscience of the individual citizen will have been so widened as to keep him safe in the hands of his only "natural leader," namely himself. It will be longer still before we shall have banished that modern "touchiness," so foreign to the Catholic spirit which when, in its noonday, it painted pictures of the Last Judgment, did not fail to show Cardinals as well as murderers on the devil's prongs, just by way of a discipline against haughtiness. We must in this measure plead guilty to the possession of unsolved problems. Some might, perhaps, go so far as to conceive these problems as not finally soluble at all. Mr. Devas, at least, in a curiously valiant book¹ recently applied the Hegelian formula to the life of the Church, and changed the old idea of a dead universal drift to that of a perpetual clash and musical disharmony of antitheses. He has introduced into currency a conception of the Church according to which a layman may be performing his duty to Catholicity by resisting his Bishop. But these are problems which do not belong to politics, and this is not the place in which to push the discussion of them to its ultimate issues. They must be allowed to stand over, as the lawyers say, for further consideration.

Such, it seems to me, is something recognisably like the truth of the situation in Ireland. I do not, of course, pretend that my sketch is adequate, but so far as it goes it gives a glimpse of the new forces in Ireland. The picture is not that of a people that has attained its goal. It shows

¹ *Key to the World's Progress. A Study in Historical Logic.* By C. S. Devas, M.A.

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that the empire of inertia has its colony in Ireland no less than that of energy and creation. Is that a reason for despair? If so, Liberalism had better haul down its flag the world over, for it is a vain and even a vicious hallucination. But to those who profess to continue, in spite of all the thunders of the Everlasting Nay, obstinate believers in the future of humanity, I put this question: What are we in Ireland to think of that Liberalism which, on the plea of a tyranny which does not exist, denies us the weapon by which alone, if such a tyranny did exist, it could be abolished, namely, the political mastery of our own household?

T. M. KETTLE

MODERN SOCIALISM AND THE FAMILY

I DO not think that the general reader at all appreciates the steady development of Socialist thought during the past two decades. Directly one comes into close contact with contemporary Socialists one discovers in all sorts of ways the evidence of the synthetic work that has been and still is in process, the clearing and growth of guiding ideas, the qualification of primitive statements, the consideration, the adaptation to meet this or that adequate criticism. A quarter of a century ago Socialism was still to a very large extent a doctrine of negative, a passionate criticism and denial of the theories that sustained and excused the injustices of contemporary life, a repudiation of social and economic methods then held to be indispensable and in the very nature of things. Its positive proposals were as sketchy as they were enthusiastic, sketchy and, it must be confessed, fluctuating. One needs to turn back to the files of its everyday publications to realise the progress that has been made, the secular emergence of a consistent and continually more nearly complete and directive scheme of social reconstruction from the chaotic propositions and hopes and denials of the earlier time. In no direction is this more evident than in the steady clearing of the Socialistic attitude towards marriage and the family; in the disentanglement of Socialism from much idealist and irrelevant matter with which it was once closely associated and encumbered, in the orderly incorporation of conceptions that at one time seemed not only outside of, but hostile to, Socialist ways of thinking.

Nothing could have brought out this more clearly than the comical attempt made last month by the *Daily Express* to suggest that Mr. Keir Hardie and the party he leads was

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mysteriously involved with my unfortunate self in teaching Free Love to respectable working men. I have dealt with that preposterous attack as far as I am personally concerned elsewhere, and I won't discuss it again here, but when my heat and indignation had presently a little subsided, I found myself asking how it came about, that any one could bring together such discrepant things as the orderly proposals of Socialism as they shape themselves in the projects of Mr. Keir Hardie, let us say, and the doctrine of sexual go-as-you-please. And so inquiring, my mind drifted back to the days—it is a hazy period to me—when Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft were alive, when Shelley explained his views to Harriet. These people were in a sort of way Socialists; Palæo-Socialists. They professed also very distinctly that uncovenanted freedom of action in sexual matters which is, I suppose, Free Love. My assailant remembered (to his undoing) what I had forgotten, that large undifferentiated past when all sorts of ideas, as yet too ill defined to eliminate one another, socialist ideas, communist ideas, anarchist ideas, Rousseauism, seethed together and seemed akin. In a sense they were akin in that they were the condemnation of the existing order, the outcome of the destructive criticism of this of its aspects or that. They were all *breccia*. But in all else, directly they began to find definite statement, they were flatly contradictory one with another. Or at least they stood upon different levels of assumption and application.

And the nature of the attack upon myself, it happened, served to remind me that there is after all something more than the necessary association of those who are “agin the government,” to link Anarchism and Socialism. The formulæ of Anarchism and Socialism are, no doubt, almost diametrically opposed; Anarchism denies government, Socialism would concentrate all controls in the State, but it is after all possible in different relations and different aspects to entertain the two. When one comes to dreams, when one tries to imagine one's finest sort of people, one must surely imagine them too fine for control and prohibitions, doing right by a sort of inner impulse, “above the Law.” One's dreamland perfection is Anarchy—just as no

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one would imagine a policeman (or for the matter of that a drain-pipe) in Heaven. But come down to earth, to men the descendants of apes, to men competing to live, and passionately jealous and energetic, and for the highways and market-places of life at any rate, one asks for law and convention. In Heaven or any Perfection there will be no Socialism, just as there will be no Bimetallism; there is the sphere of communism, anarchism, universal love and universal service. It is in the workaday world that Socialism has its place. All men who dream at all of noble things are Anarchists in their dreams, and half at least of the people who are much in love, I suppose, want to be this much Anarchistic that they do not want to feel under a law or compulsion one with another. They may want to possess, they may want to be wholly possessed, but they do not want a law court or public opinion to protect that possession as a "right."

But it's still not clearly recognised how distinct are the spheres of Anarchism and Socialism. The last instance of this confusion that has seriously affected the common idea of the Socialist was as recent as the late Mr. Grant Allen. He was not, I think, even in his time a very representative Socialist, but certainly he did present, as if it were a counsel of perfection for this harsh and grimy world, something very like reckless abandonment to the passion or mood of the moment. I doubt if he would have found a dozen supporters in the Fabian Society in his own time. I should think his teaching would have appealed far more powerfully to extreme individualists of the type of Mr. Auberon Herbert. However that may be, I do not think there is at present among English and American Socialists any representative figure at all counselling Free Love. The modern tendency is all towards an amount of control over the function of reproduction, if anything, in excess of that exercised by the State and public usage to-day. Let me make a brief comparison of existing conditions with what I believe to be the ideals of most of my fellow Socialists in this matter, and the reader can then judge for himself between the two systems of intervention.

And first let me run over the outline of the thing we are

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most likely to forget and have wrong in such a discussion, the thing directly under our noses, the thing that is. People have an odd way of assuming in such a comparison that we are living under an obligation to conform to the moral code of the Christian church at the present time. As a matter of fact we are living in an epoch of extraordinary freedom in sexual matters, mitigated only by certain economic imperatives. Anti-socialist writers have a way of pretending that Socialists want to make Free Love possible, while in reality Free Love is open to any solvent person to-day. People who do not want to marry are as free as air to come together and part again as they choose, there is no law to prevent them, the State takes it out of their children with a certain mild malignancy—that is all. Married people are equally free, saving certain limited proprietary claims upon one another, claims that can always be met by the payment of damages. The restraints are purely restraints of opinion, that would be as powerful to-morrow if legal marriage was altogether abolished. There was a time, no doubt, when there were actual legal punishments for unchastity in women, but that time has gone, it might seem, for ever. Our State retains only, from an age that held mercantile methods in less honour, a certain habit of persecuting women who sell themselves by retail for money, but this is done in the name of public order and not on account of the act. Such a woman must exact cash payments, she cannot recover debts, she is placed at a ridiculous disadvantage towards her landlord (which makes accommodating her peculiarly lucrative), and she is exposed to various inconveniences of street regulation and status that must ultimately corrupt any police force in the world—for all that she seems to continue in the land with a certain air of prosperity. Beyond that our control between man and woman is nil. Our society to-day has in fact no complete system of sexual morals at all. It has the remains of a system.

It has the remains of a monogamic patriarchal system, in which a responsible man owned nearly absolutely wife and offspring. All its laws and sentiments alike are derived from the reduction and qualification of that.

These are not the pretensions indeed of the present

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system such as it is, but they are the facts. And even the present disorder, one gathers, is unstable. One hears on every hand of its further decadence. From Father Vaughan to President Roosevelt, and volleying from the whole bench of bishops, comes the witness to that. Not only the old breaches grow wider and more frequent, but in the very penetralia of the family the decay goes on. The birth-rate falls—and falls. The family fails more and more in its essential object. This is a process absolutely independent of any Socialist propaganda ; it is part of the normal development of the existing social and economic system. It makes for sterilisation, for furtive wantonness and dishonour. The existing system produces no remedies at all. Prominent people break out ever and again into vehement scoldings of this phenomenon ; the newspapers and magazines re-echo "Race Suicide," but there is no sign whatever in the statistical curves of the smallest decimal per cent. of response to these exhortations.

Our existing sexual order is a system in decay. What are the alternatives to its steady process of collapse ? That is the question we have to ask ourselves. To heap foul abuse, as many quite honest but terror-stricken people seem disposed to do, on any one who attempts to discuss any alternative, is simply to accelerate this process. To me it seems there are three main directions along which things may go in the future, and between which rational men have to choose.

The first is to regard the present process as inevitable and moving towards the elimination of weak and gentle types, to clear one's mind of the prejudices of one's time, and to contemplate a disintegration of all the realities of the family into an epoch of Free Love, mitigated by mercantile necessities and a few transparent hypocrisies. Rich men will be free to live lives of irresponsible polygamy ; poor men will do what they can ; woman's life will be adventurous, the population will decline in numbers and perhaps in quality. (To guard against that mischievous quoter who lies in wait for all Socialist writers, let me say at once that this state of affairs is anti-socialist, is, I believe, socially destructive, and does not commend itself to me at all.)

The second direction is towards reaction, an attempt to

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return to the simple old conceptions of our past, to the patriarchal family, that is to say, of the middle ages. This I take to be the conception of such a Liberal as Mr. G. K. Chesterton, or such a Conservative as Lord Hugh Cecil, and to be also as much idea as one can find underlying most tirades against modern morals. The rights of the parent will be insisted on and restored, and the parent means pretty distinctly the father. Subject to the influence of a powerful and well-organised Church, a rejuvenescent Church, he is to resume that control over wife and children of which the modern State has partially deprived him. The development of secular education is to be arrested, particular stress is to be laid upon the wickedness of any intervention with natural reproductive processes, the spread of knowledge in certain directions is to be made criminal, and early marriages are to be encouraged. . . . I do not by any means regard this as an impossible programme ; I believe that in many directions it is quite a practicable one ; it is in harmony with great masses of feeling in the country, and with many natural instincts. It would not of course affect the educated wealthy and leisurely upper class in the community, who would be able and intelligent enough to impose their own private glosses upon its teaching, but it would "moralise" the general population, and reduce them to a state of prolific squalor. Its realisation would be, I believe, almost inevitably accompanied by a decline in sanitation, and a correlated rise in birth-rate and death-rate, for life would be cheap, and drainpipes and antiseptics dear, and it is quite conceivable that after some stresses, a very nearly stable social equilibrium would be attained. After all it is this simple sort of life, without drains and without education, with child labour (in the open air for the most part until the eighteenth century—though that is a detail) and a consequent straightforward desire for remunerative children that has been the normal life of humanity for many thousands of years. We might not succeed in getting back to a landed peasantry, we might find large masses of the population would hang up obstinately in industrial towns—towns that in their simple naturalness of congestion might come to resemble the Chinese pattern pretty closely ; but I have no doubt we

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could move far in that direction with very little difficulty indeed.

The third direction is towards the developing conceptions of Socialism. And it must be confessed at once that these, as they emerge steadily and methodically from mere generalities and confusions, do present themselves as being in many aspects, novel and untried. They are as untested, and in many respects as alarming, as steam traction or iron shipping were in 1830. They display, clearly and unambiguously, principles already timidly admitted in practice and sentiment to-day, but as yet admitted only confusedly and amidst a cloud of contradictions. Essentially the Socialist position is a denial of property in human beings; not only must land and the means of production be liberated from the multitude of little monarchs among whom they are distributed, to the general injury and inconvenience, but women and children, just as much as men and things, must cease to be owned. Socialism indeed proposes to abolish altogether the patriarchal family amidst whose disintegrating ruins we live, and to raise women to an equal citizenship with men. It proposes to give a man no more property in a woman than a woman has in a man. To stupid people who cannot see the difference between a woman and a thing, the abolition of the private ownership of women takes the form of having "wives in common," and suggests the Corroboree. It is obviously nothing of the sort. It is the recognition in theory of what in many classes is already the fact,—the practical equality of men and women in a civilised state. It is quite compatible with a marriage contract of far greater stringency than that recognised throughout Christendom to-day.

Now what sort of contract will the Socialist state require for marriage? Here again there are perfectly clear and simple principles. Socialism states definitely what almost everybody recognises now-a-days with greater or less clearness, and that is the concern of the State for children. The children people bring into the world can be no more their private concern entirely, than the disease germs they disseminate or the noises a man makes in a thin-floored flat. Socialism says boldly the State is the Over-Parent, the

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Outer-Parent. People rear children for the State and the future; if they do that well they do the whole world a service, and deserve payment just as much as if they built a bridge or raised a crop of wheat; if they do it unpropitiously and ill, they have done the world an injury. Socialism denies altogether the right of any one to beget children carelessly and promiscuously, and for the prevention of disease and evil births alike, the Socialist is prepared for an insistence upon intelligence and self-restraint quite beyond the current practice. At present we deal with all that sort of thing as an infringement of private proprietary rights; the Socialist holds it is the world that is injured.

It follows that motherhood, which we still in a muddle-headed way seem to regard as partly self-indulgence and partly a service paid to a man by a woman, is regarded by the Socialists as a benefit to society, a public duty done. It may be in many cases a duty full of pride and happiness—that is beside the mark. The State will pay for children born legitimately in the marriage it will sanction. A woman with healthy and successful offspring will draw a wage for each one of them from the State, so long as they go on well. It will be her wage. Under the State she will control her child's upbringing. How far her husband will share in the power of direction is a matter of detail upon which opinion may vary—and does vary widely among Socialists. I suppose for the most part they incline to the conception of a joint control. So the monstrous injustice of the present time which makes a mother dependent upon the economic accidents of her man, which plunges the best of wives and the most admirable of children into abject poverty if he happens to die, which visits his sins of waste and carelessness upon them far more than upon himself, will disappear. So too the still more monstrous absurdity of women discharging their supreme social function, bearing and rearing children in their spare time, as it were, while they “earn their living” by contributing some half mechanical element to some trivial industrial product, will disappear.

That is the gist of the Socialist attitude towards marriage; the repudiation of private ownership of women and children, and the payment of mothers. Partially but already very

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extensively, socialistic ideas have spread through the whole body of our community; they are the saving element in what would otherwise be a moral catastrophe now, and the Socialist simply puts with precise definition the conclusions to which all but foolish, ignorant, base or careless people are moving—albeit some are moving thither with averted faces. Already we have the large, still incomplete edifice of free education, and a great mass of legislation against child labour; we have free baths, free playgrounds, free libraries,—more and more people are coming to admit the social necessity of saving our children from the private enterprise of the milkman who does not sterilise his cans, from the private enterprise of the schoolmaster who cannot teach, from the private enterprise of the employer who takes them on at small wages at thirteen or fourteen to turn them back on our hands as ignorant hooligans and social wastrels at eighteen or twenty But the straightforward payment to the mother still remains to be brought within the sphere of practical application. To that we shall come.

H. G. WELLS

THE NATIVE PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE

IT has been well said that no man is good enough to have absolute power over another, and the same may be said with still greater certainty of nations. It almost invariably happens that when any such despotism is attempted both the rulers and the men or nations who are governed by them suffer in character even more than in material results. It is now universally admitted that actual slavery produces these evil consequences to the individuals concerned, while few will deny that they are almost equally clear in the case of nations, often leading to the downfall or deterioration of the ruling state. Assyria and Egypt, Greece and Rome, are examples from the ancient world, while in more recent times we have the disastrous results of her vast American conquests to Spain, of the Napoleonic empire to France, of Ireland, India, North America, and South Africa to England.

In all these cases, just in proportion as despotic rule has been enforced, discontent, rebellion, and devastating wars have been the result; while on the other hand, whenever subject peoples, whether civilised, barbarian, or savage, have been permitted either wholly or partially to govern themselves, peace and contentment have followed to the equal benefit of both parties. As illustrative of such happy results we need only mention Penn and Lord Elgin in North America, Lord Lawrence in the Punjab, and Sir James Brooke in Borneo. Equally suggestive is the fact, that some of the best governed and most contented parts of India to-day, are to be found among the Native Provinces,

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ruled by their hereditary or native chiefs with the advice of a British Resident and protection from external enemies by the British Government. So in South Africa, Basutoland and Bechuanaland, governed by native law and custom under their own chiefs, assisted by the sympathetic advice of a British Resident Commissioner, are thoroughly contented ; but this happy state of things is only preserved by the strict prohibition of European settlement, and thus of the exploitation and so-called development of the country with its inevitable consequence, the deterioration both of the native and the European.

Surely these examples are of so striking a nature as to deserve our careful consideration, and we may well ask ourselves whether it is not possible to learn from them how to deal with those more complex and more difficult cases where two antagonistic races are more or less intermingled, and where the actual state of things is unsatisfactory to both, ranging from smouldering discontent as in many parts of India, to more open disaffection and resentment sometimes rising to what we term rebellion, as we now see in parts of South Africa.

The fundamental reason of success and failure in these several cases, is, that where we have succeeded we have done so by giving to the inferior race our protection and our advice, through some man of high character in sympathy with those he lives among and who exercises the minimum of compulsion. We have acted as the disinterested friend, not as the mere self-interested conqueror and despotic ruler. However much we may protest to the contrary, the latter is our position in South Africa to-day, and it is also our position over the larger part of India. In both these countries we make laws affecting the coloured races without consulting them in any way, and however much these laws may conflict with their mode of life, their customs, or their prejudices, we enforce them by means of armed police or bodies of troops, and if they resist we dub them rebels and remorselessly destroy them by means of our overwhelming superiority in arms.

In those cases where a large coloured population inhabits the same territory with a much smaller body of whites, we

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not only enforce against them our complex machinery of law and punishment, but we also often make special laws or regulations against the coloured races, which have the effect of stamping them with the badge of inferiority and serfdom. This treatment is the more galling to them now, because we have for many years striven to convert them to our religion, and have either educated them or assisted them to educate themselves, with the result that considerable numbers of them are now better educated and more truly civilised than a considerable number of the low-class Europeans who despise and ill-treat them.

It is evident that we have here a state of things which cannot go on indefinitely. We have drifted into it without any forecast of the necessary consequences. One set of influences and one trend of opinion, most prevalent in the Colonies, leads to the belief that the natives are the predestined servants or serfs of the whites, and sees no reason why they should not for ever be thus treated, kept in their place by force if necessary, and denied all the rights of freemen or of equals. On the other side we have the religious world and the philanthropists at home who have always exerted themselves to convert the natives to Christianity, to educate them, to force upon them our complex civilisation, and to claim for them, though rather half-heartedly, equal political and social rights. These persons almost ignore the antipathies and ingrained prejudices which everywhere manifest themselves where white and dark races are forced to live together, and which even the loudly proclaimed belief in the brotherhood of man, the equality of rights and the teachings of Christianity, are powerless to overcome.

On a calm consideration of the whole problem it must be admitted that the former point of view—that of inherently superior and inferior races—of master and servant, ruler and ruled, is the most consistent with actual facts and perhaps not the less fitted to ensure the well-being, contentment, and ultimate civilisation of the inferior race. It is also by no means incompatible with a just treatment of the native, with sympathetic interest in his welfare, and with the grant of a considerable amount of

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self-government; and it is for the purpose of suggesting how this latter may be effected that I am venturing to make a slight contribution to this very thorny subject.

The difficulty is of course very much increased in the case of a self-governing colony, composed largely of people who are seeking for wealth through the labour of the natives in agriculture or in various forms of commerce or industry, and whose interests and prejudices largely influence the government. It is therefore unwise, when the proportion of whites to natives is very small, to grant self-government to such a colony unless special reservations are made for the protection of the natives. At the present time there is a strong desire for self-government in Trinidad, and perhaps in some other West Indian islands, but it is asked for by the white traders and planters for the express purpose of obtaining complete power over the coloured labouring classes, free from what they consider the harassing regulations for their protection now in force. But as there is in the island a large population of negroes and mulattoes as well as coolies from India, races very antipathetic to each other, even the greatest friends of self-government consider that in this case it would certainly lead to injurious results.

The same difficulties occur in the case of the new colonies in South Africa and especially in Natal, where besides the very large number of natives there are also Indians in nearly equal numbers with the Europeans. The extreme diversity of ideas, customs, laws, and religion between these two dark races, renders the application of our laws and regulations to both of them, extremely irritating and often unjust; while, when the two coloured races come into conflict, the methods of our ordinary courts of justice are quite unfitted to hold the balance fairly between them. Hence there almost always arises a sense of injustice and oppression, which is increased by the fact that in many cases these people are well educated and have very strong feelings in regard to infringements of their personal freedom or the sanctity of their homes.

If, now, we are to be guided by the varied experience
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in all parts of the world here briefly referred to, it becomes clear that in handing over the government of Zululand to the Governor of Natal, who is necessarily very largely influenced by local opinion, a great mistake was made, which should be at once retraced and the country administered in the same way as the other protected states under the direct supervision of the home government, and with the same sympathetic consideration for native habits and prejudices as in the other Protectorates. Looking at this matter merely from a Colonial point of view, it would surely be better for Natal to have as a neighbour a contented and prosperous native state, with which a considerable trade would arise, and which would, as the population increased, afford a large amount of native labour when required.

We now approach the main problem, which is, how to provide some amount of self-government for the native population of Natal and of the two new Boer Colonies, so as to satisfy to some extent the just demands of the educated and civilised portion of the natives, and to do this without exciting the strong and very natural opposition to any suggestion of putting the coloured races on a political equality with the whites. What we have to aim at is, in the first place, to diminish the sense of injustice now felt by the educated and christianised natives, at being treated as a subject and degraded race, despotically ruled by aliens who, for the most part, take no account whatever of their feelings and claims as British subjects and fellow Christians. In the second place, we must proceed tentatively so as not to arouse antagonism in the ruling race, our aim being to give the better and higher among the natives an opportunity of freely stating their political and social grievances, so as to influence the legislature towards a more just and sympathetic treatment of them.

The first and most obvious thing to do is to give to the natives in every district of each Colony one or more chiefs or magistrates of their own race, chosen from the native clergy or schoolmasters or any other adequately qualified individuals. These native magistrates should sit with the ordinary magistrates, and in all cases, criminal or civil,

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where both natives and Europeans were concerned, would act as the official protector or advocate for the native in the interests of justice, and for the purpose of putting the native point of view before the European magistrate or judge, who would alone be responsible for the decision of the court.

In the case of disputes between or crimes by natives, in which no whites were concerned, the native magistrate would hear and decide the matter according to native law and custom, but modified where necessary in accordance with European law. Here too the Colonial magistrate would (at first) preside over the court, giving advice and suggestions to the native magistrate; but except in very difficult or important cases would allow the native magistrate to give the judgment of the court.

In this way it seems to me not only would much hardship and injustice to natives be avoided, but the effect on the native mind generally would be most beneficial, by showing a full recognition of their rights in the very large and complex department of the administration of justice. The association of the two races in this way would also have an important educational influence on both. The native magistrate would learn much from frequent official intercourse with an educated European, while he would gain thereby a dignity and influence among his countrymen which he would value highly, and which would have an important and beneficial influence on his own character and conduct. On the other side the European magistrate would be equally or even more benefited, since by association with educated natives in the hearing of the infinitely varied cases that come before him, he would acquire a knowledge of native character, customs, and feelings which he could obtain in no other way, and which might have an important influence on the welfare of the community, when, in after years, some of these magistrates became members of the legislature.

Another step of very great value and importance would be the introduction into all local authorities, such as education boards, district councils, town councils, etc., of one or more educated natives of each nationality (Kaffir or Indian) chosen to represent their fellow-countrymen, and to express

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their views and wishes as to any bye-laws or regulations which they found to be oppressive and unjust. Even if these representatives of the coloured races did not have votes, their constant presence at meetings, their right to protest against oppressive or one-sided regulations, often made in ignorance of the effects produced by them, could not fail to be of great value. They would also be able to bring before the authorities all cases of cruel or unfair treatment of natives by the police, a matter of the greatest importance in all countries, and especially in those where there are antagonisms of race.

Here again the educational influence on the ruling class of constant official communication with some of the best among the native races would certainly be very great, and would probably lead in time to a better understanding between them than has been created by the present system of aggressive rule of a superior caste over their serfs.

Perhaps more important still would be the application of the same principle to the Colonial legislature itself in both chambers. The native representatives need be few in number—perhaps three or four in the lower and one or two in the upper house, the object being in no sense to place the coloured race on an equality with the white, but to provide each branch of the legislature with accurate and precise information as to how both existing and proposed laws affect the natives, how and why they feel themselves injured or oppressed by them, and thus enable modifications to be made which, though apparently of trifling importance, may make all the difference between a condition of constant irritation and one of cheerful acquiescence.

As to the mode of election of these native representatives it would be best to leave it largely to themselves to suggest the best method. It would probably be most in accordance with their customs for local chiefs, ministers of religion, teachers, etc., to meet together and nominate perhaps twice the number of members required. From these names the Governor of the Colony, after due inquiry among local magistrates or others well acquainted with the natives, would choose the members, who would thus be not only elected by their countrymen, but nominated by the Governor

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as the representative of the Crown. As the chief function of these members would be consultative and educational as regards the opinions and feelings of the natives, it would not much matter whether they had votes or not ; but I do not think it would be necessary or wise to make any invidious distinction against them, as their very limited numbers would not give them any real power except in cases where public opinion was already nearly equally divided as to the advisability of the legislation in question.

It is, I think, almost impossible to exaggerate the beneficial influence of some such small share in the government of a country as here suggested being awarded to the natives. Not only would it diminish, and in time destroy, the sense of injustice and oppression that now so largely prevails among the native races, but it would greatly extend mutual knowledge and give rise to that mutual respect which generally exists when men of different races and civilisations come to know each other intimately. It is to be hoped that in the constitutions now being elaborated for the two Colonies we have so recently devastated and conquered, some instalment, however small, of such a concession to just principles may be introduced ; and, that powers may be reserved by the Crown for a further extension of the principle whenever it seems advisable. If that is done, and the results are found to be beneficial, other self-governing colonies may find it advantageous to adopt the plan.

So long as we possess colonies in which a considerable native population still exists we should, I think, always retain our guardianship of those natives in order to protect them from the oppression and cruelty which always occurs when a young, and mainly wealth-seeking community has absolute power over them. Where these natives are numerous and energetic, and are rapidly acquiring our education, our religion, and the outward form at all events of our civilisation, things cannot remain as they are. What the ultimate condition of such mixed communities may be it is difficult to say, but, whatever the future may have in store for us, it is certain that a method which recognises that the coloured

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racés are men of fundamentally the same nature as ourselves, and which aims at developing the best that is in them, by granting them some at least of the elementary rights of men and citizens, is more likely to bring about a satisfactory solution of this difficult problem, than that system of contemptuous superiority and denial of all political and social claims that has hitherto so largely prevailed.

Having no personal knowledge of the country more particularly referred to in this article, I only put forward my views in a suggestive form. Forty years ago I had the privilege of enjoying the friendship of Sir James Brooke, and, during more than a year's residence in Sarawak, of observing the mode and results of his beneficent and sympathetic rule over antagonistic native races. A little later I spent several months in North Celebes, in Java, and in East Sumatra, where I had full opportunity of noticing the effects of the judicious rule of the Dutch, almost wholly exerted through native chieftains. For nearly twelve years I travelled and lived mostly among uncivilised or completely savage races, and I became convinced that they all possessed good qualities, some of them in a very remarkable degree, and that in all the great characteristics of humanity they are wonderfully like ourselves. Some, indeed, among the brown Polynesians especially, are declared by numerous independent and unprejudiced observers, to be both physically, morally, and intellectually our equals, if not our superiors; and it has always seemed to me one of the disgraces of our civilisation that these fine people have not in a single case been protected from contamination by the vices and follies of our more degraded classes, and allowed to develop their own social and political organism under the advice of some of our best and wisest men and the protection of our world-wide power. That would have been indeed a worthy trophy of our civilisation. What we have actually done, and left undone, resulting in the degradation and lingering extermination of so fine a people, is one of the most pathetic of its tragedies.

ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE

THE BOYCOTT OF CONSUMPTIVES

NOT long ago a leader-writer in a London newspaper recorded his conviction that the march of modern thought had set a destructive heel upon most of the shibboleths of the middle nineteenth century. His list of outworn creeds was lengthy enough, and among the lifeless relics he included the Utilitarian Philosophy. It is true that in those places where moral philosophy forms a branch of education the greatest-happiness principle is utterly rejected, and the familiar arguments of Mill are held up by tutors as puppets for their pupils to knock down in weekly essays. But if the utilitarian principle considered as an ethical criterion has suffered eclipse among thinkers, its general interpretation as the greatest happiness of the greatest number finds increasing acceptance as a rule for every-day social conduct.

In one direction particularly the application of the principle is being carried out with growing strictness. There is no doubt at all that within the last few years the attitude of society at large towards the invalid has greatly changed. The custom is to point to the number of hospitals and sanatoria as evidence of a kindlier disposition towards ill-health. It would be more true to assert the reverse. For the feeling which now prompts the building of hospitals has less in it of kindly emotion towards the suffering than of desire to safeguard the healthy. The existence of such an attitude outside the medical profession would probably be denied, but the tendency to consider the invalid as having no right to a place in society is everywhere observable. Nowhere is this tendency so evident as in the so-called health resorts of the continent : the resentment felt

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by the more fortunate guests in such places against the presence of invalids is steadily increasing. There is no doubt that it is becoming more and more difficult for those whom ill-health drives from home in search of a suitable climate to find accommodation in civilised places. The difficulty is most felt in the case of those who suffer from the scourge of the white races—consumption; and it is this phase of the general question which will be specially discussed here.

The last twenty years may be said to have witnessed a complete revolution in the treatment of consumption, and the open-air *régime* now finds universal acceptance. Here unanimity ends. The great success which in many cases attended the sanatorium treatment, as carried out at Nordrach and its several imitators in Britain, led to bold statements that in the treatment of consumption climate was an un-essential factor, provided that the patients were at sufficient distance from a town to ensure the comparative purity of the atmosphere. Such a contention is less common now than a few years ago, and it is more widely realised that in a considerable percentage of cases the climate of Northern Europe does not permit of the strict open-air treatment being pursued with safety. This is admitted as a rule even by those who have no faith in the directly curative effect of mountain or desert air. As a consequence there has been no very great diminution in the number of those who are driven to take refuge in regions more climatically favoured than their own homes.

The resorts which offer advantages to those who are compelled to seek for health, or life, in this manner, may be classed roughly under two heads. Under the first head come those places which are possessed of a comparatively warm and sunny winter climate, free generally speaking from frost, and sheltered from cold winds. Such conditions, combined with good accommodation, are best found on the Riviera, in Algiers and Egypt, and in the still more genial climates of Madeira and the Canary Islands. The second class comprises the high mountain resorts, such places as Davos, Arosa and Leysin, where the conditions of atmosphere due to the extreme altitude are favourable to certain

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types and stages of tuberculosis. Since the discovery of the results often to be obtained from the mountain treatment, the warmer climates have lost in popularity, and at the present day the Davos valley occupies the place in popular estimation formerly disputed by Madeira and the Riviera. The preference is on the whole amply justified, but it should be remembered that in many cases these mountain resorts are contra-indicated, owing to their altitude and the extreme rigour of their winter climate. This point is emphasised, because those who are harassed by the presence of invalids are apt to think, and even to say, that "Davos is the proper place for consumptives."

An examination of the attitude adopted by hotel-keepers in the warmer resorts reveals a condition of things which is very serious for many phthisical patients. Practically the entire Riviera is barred to those suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis. In Algiers a similar boycott exists, and it is impossible to doubt that before long consumptives will be refused, as they are now frequently discouraged, in Egypt, Madeira, and the Canary Islands. Some years ago the hôteliers of Mentone came to the conclusion that its reputation as a consumptive resort interfered with its development as compared with those winter stations on the Riviera where invalids were less numerous. They decided to remove this handicap by agreeing among themselves to receive no consumptives in their hotels. This agreement has been put into force, and the stand-point taken up by the Mentone hotel-keepers has been adopted on the Riviera generally. In October of last year the writer inquired of fifteen different hotel-keepers on the Riviera, at every health resort from Mentone to Rapallo, whether they received consumptives. In every case but one the answer was an emphatic negative, the exception being a reply to the effect that as a rule consumptives in an advanced state were not received. Experience compels the interpretation of this answer as permission to stay in the hotel unless and until other visitors object. A similar result attended inquiries in Algeria. Only one hotel-keeper refrained from outright refusal, saying that he did not object to receiving "*very slight* consumptive cases on condition that other visitors are not

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inconvenienced by them, and as long as there are no complaints in connection with them." In the case of each of these two semi-exceptions to the general rule, it is clear that in the present state of public feeling against consumption it would be hardly worth while risking an absence of complaints. In Egypt, Madeira, and the Canary Islands matters have not yet reached the same stage, at least not universally. But these places too are becoming holiday playgrounds rather than health resorts, and already the invalid is looked at askance. The rule of exclusion is only a matter of time.

It is evident, therefore, that the warmer resorts, formerly favoured by consumptives, are now practically forbidden ground. But this is not all. The same tendency has spread northward, and the great majority of mountain resorts in Switzerland now admit no phthisical patients. St. Moritz has very largely lost its character as a consumptive resort, Caux and Les Avants, which at one time were to some extent frequented by consumptives, have both adopted the policy of exclusion. All the recently-opened winter resorts cater for "sports" rather than illness, and the result is that outside Davos, Arosa, St. Moritz and Leysin there is practically no place in Switzerland where the consumptive can be sure of not being turned out of his hotel, even if he is at first received on sufferance. This applies equally to summer and winter. During the summer the "winter-sport" resorts cater purely for the tourist and the holiday-maker, as do most of those places which have only a summer season. A third class of resort also exists—frequented in the main by foreigners—where people who have eaten and drunk too much and washed too little, come for "Luftkur" and "Wasserkur." In all these alike the sufferer from consumption can find no abiding-place. The reiterated complaint is always the same—"These people should be at Davos,"—regardless of the fact that Davos does not suit every one, while for many who spend the winter there a change is a necessity.

Two quite separate causes have combined to bring about this condition of affairs—the fear of infection and the dislike of holiday-makers to be reminded of the existence of suffering. It is not likely that the latter feeling will pass—the

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tendency is all the other way—but it is possible that time and the spread of knowledge will beget a more reasonable frame of mind with regard to the question of the danger to health to be apprehended from a consumptive patient. It is, of course, only recently that the general public has begun to realise that pulmonary tuberculosis is a communicable disease, and this realisation has led to a growing feeling against the consumptive, which tends to approximate to the attitude adopted by mediæval society towards the leper.¹

The benefits which should ultimately result from a universal recognition of the communicability of consumption can scarcely be over-estimated ; but to secure these, it is surely unnecessary to exaggerate the danger which actually exists. Pulmonary tuberculosis is a communicable disease, but the danger of communication is nullified by certain easy hygienic precautions. That is to say, it is not infectious in the ordinary sense of the word, and it lies with each individual patient whether he is, or is not, a danger to those with whom he associates. Practically speaking, the sole risk of infection is caused by careless expectoration, and if the sputum is properly disposed of, the risk disappears. This is a simple fact, and one which ought to be universally known, but outside medical circles and the great army of those who suffer from consumption, it does not appear to be grasped. It is gradually becoming recognised that infection can be conveyed through the medium of the sputum, but it is not understood that here the danger ceases. The belief is not uncommon that the tubercle bacillus is borne in myriads upon the breath of the invalid, and that merely to be in the vicinity of any one suffering from phthisis necessarily implies exposure to infection. An interesting example of this erroneous supposition is to be found in a pamphlet dealing with the advantages of the Canary Islands as a health resort, which was issued some years ago by Messrs. Elder Dempster & Co. In urging the claims of Grand Canary, and comparing it as a winter resort with the Alpine stations, the writer of the pamphlet talks of patients at Davos exhaling the deadly microbes. When such statements appear in

¹ An American periodical is responsible for the suggestion that the numerous consumptives in Colorado should be compelled to wear bells round their necks.

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print, it is not surprising that the general public is not better informed.

The lack of a proper appreciation of this point is to a great extent due to the manner in which the subject has been treated by the newspapers. During the last few years the topic of consumption has been constantly before the public, and great interest has been taken, not only in the meetings of the Congress upon Tuberculosis, but also in the numerous lectures and discussions in medical circles which have dealt with the subject. Unfortunately, the reports and comments which are published in the lay press too often merely give prominence to the fact that the disease is communicable, without explaining how communication can be prevented. Not unnaturally, therefore, an impression is prevalent in many quarters that the only safeguard against the spread of consumption is to be found in the segregation of consumptive cases. From this lack of knowledge has arisen the fear of infection, which has done much to close foreign health resorts to the consumptive. The doors have been shut all the more quickly and closely by reason of the great increase in the number of travelling Germans which has taken place during the last few years. Germans display a much greater fear of consumption than members of any other nationality, a fear mainly grounded upon ignorance (the writer has heard a German expatiate upon the horrible danger of breathing the same air as a consumptive), but partly perhaps due to the fact that the habit of promiscuous expectoration is commoner in Germany than elsewhere. Whatever the special reason of his terror, the German is more insistent than any one else that the hotel he patronises shall not harbour "Lungenkranke." It follows that the comparatively recent German invasion of the Riviera, Egypt, Algiers, etc., has had considerable effect in ousting the consumptive from his former refuges. As an example of the extent to which the misapprehension regarding the danger of consumption has influenced the attitude of hotel keepers, the following quotation is instructive. It is taken from one of the answers received by the writer to the inquiries already mentioned: "I do not receive consumptives. . . . as the doctors now find it an infectious malady, I do not see how

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hotels can take them and other visitors as well." The key of the whole difficulty is to be found in the misapplication of the word infectious, and it is not likely that the scare caused by its perpetual misuse will easily subside.

Yet there is no need for a scare, but rather for a continual preaching of the facts regarding the communicability of the disease, and an insistence upon the proper observation of the necessary safeguards. When these safeguards are insisted upon, when the rule against spitting is stringently enforced and ventilation and general cleanliness are a matter of course, a sojourn in a consumptive colony is very much safer than every-day life in an ordinary town or village. The fact has been proved over and over again. It is becoming common for persons suffering from overwork or nervous strain to be sent to consumptive sanatoria : and the case of Davos, where guests who visit the place for amusement live with impunity in the same hotels as the invalids, should clearly establish the truth that where proper hygienic precautions are taken the danger of tubercular infection is non-existent.

It is just possible that the spread of information regarding the nature, and especially the preventibility, of consumption may ultimately alter the present state of affairs, but there is all too much reason to believe that matters will get worse (from the consumptive's point of view) before they get better. Such an event appears all the more likely when the second cause tending in this direction is taken into consideration.

Each year sees an increase in the multitude of those who go abroad for pleasure. This increase threatens to swamp altogether the number of those who live abroad for health, and the feeling grows continually, that the invalid spoils the picture. In addition to those travellers (chiefly German) who protest against the proximity of the consumptive from fear of infection, there is a large class (chiefly English) which founds its objection on the ground that the presence of consumptives is "so depressing." This argument is more difficult to meet than the other, for it is impossible to deny the fact asserted. Holiday-makers undoubtedly resent the presence of the invalid as tending to remind them

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of the existence of suffering. They come abroad to forget the gloom of an English winter in the sunshine which is alleged to be the permanent characteristic of the Riviera and the Swiss mountains. They feel aggrieved that under blue skies they should find any one so obviously in touch with the realities as a consumptive. They argue that there is plenty of suffering at home, that they might be allowed to forget it when they are abroad on a holiday. The feeling is natural enough, but is it just to the invalid, is it creditable to those people who manifest it so plainly? The pure air and the sunshine are a relaxation, a luxury even, to the holiday-maker, but to the invalid they too often mean the chance of life itself. Yet this intolerance on the part of the pleasure-seeker has contributed not less than the fear of infection to the adoption by hotel-keepers of their present attitude, and of the two causes it is the one which stands less chance of being removed. The fear of infection is due in the main to ignorance, but the resentment felt towards the depressing proximity of invalids in holiday resorts is only one manifestation of a feeling which is gradually pervading society.

Plainly interpreted, this feeling denies to the invalid the right to any consideration as a member of the social comity. If not a danger to the healthy, the invalid is at least an inconvenience to them. The savage's expedient of killing off the weak members of his tribe to the benefit of the strong has been rendered repugnant by the progress of civilisation, but the principle which animated his action has survived his particular manifestation of it. More, the present day is witnessing a remarkable recrudescence of opinion in its favour. If the invalid must not be put to death, he must be put where he will not interfere with the rest of society. Hence the increase in the number of hospitals and sanatoria which has been a feature of recent charitable effort. That this increase is not due primarily to compassion for suffering is perfectly obvious, and few doctors at least would advance such a claim. The lay mind considered as a whole has not yet cleared itself of a prodigious amount of cant on the subject, but the principle which informs its attitude in the matter is patent enough. Society is tending to declare that

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no consideration of individual rights ought to weigh where the question of the health of the community is in the balance. With such a principle generally speaking one must be in agreement, however doubtful regarding its strict application to such vexed questions as that raised by the so-called science of eugenics. But in the case of those who suffer from consumption society has gone further, and has declared in effect that the life of an invalid must not be allowed to weigh against the pleasures of the community.

There is no great profit to be gained from further discussion of this point. It is perhaps worth while to record a protest against the attitude of society, while accepting it as unalterable. Each year brings some subtraction from the short list of climatic stations where the consumptive can find accommodation. The case of Mentone, which owed to consumptives its existence as a health resort, foreshadows the day when every one of the warmer resorts will have closed its doors against the victims of phthisis. There is something of irony in the fact that at the time when medical science and happy experience have established the curability of consumption, the invalid is being gradually cut off from climatic aids which often determine the issue of the conflict between life and death.

W. K. McCLURE

A FISCAL POLICY FOR LABOUR

THE arrival of an independent Labour Party in the House of Commons is an event of the first magnitude in British politics, from whatever point of view we regard it. Here, for the first time, we have a body of members on the advanced side in politics, all in almost perfect accord upon nearly every question that is or can be practical politics during the present generation. Their ideals as to the far distant future may vary ; but on all questions of to-day or to-morrow, it is safe to say the Labour Party is the most united group that has ever appeared on the progressive side in Parliament. It is true that this unity has its root in a common attitude towards what are called "social" politics ; but a common social policy has its implications in other fields as well, and we may rely upon the Labour Party acting together on international and general politics almost as solidly as on "Labour" questions, in the ordinary sense of the term.

But while the policy of the new party on Labour questions is generally known, its implications in general politics are not so obvious. Every one knows what Labour thinks about Old Age Pensions, about the Unemployed, about the Taff Vale Decision ; but until the matter was put to the test, even so astute a politician as Mr. Chamberlain could not see what Labour would think about Protection. Even to this day, in spite of the result of the General Election, sympathetic Tories like the Hon. Claud Hay fail to grasp Labour's attitude to Chamberlainism. Most reasonable politicians, however, probably know by now that Labour does not intend to find funds for social reform by taxes on the food of the people. How many Liberal or

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Conservative politicians know where Labour will look for the money is very doubtful, but, on the negative side, the policy of Labour is made sufficiently clear by historic fact.

The constructive financial policy of Labour is, nevertheless, a valuable subject of thought to any anxious to understand the politics of the age. Finance is the crux of politics. The financial programme of any party is determined in the long run by its underlying philosophy of politics, its general outlook on life. During the revolutionary wars, and again during the last decade, Tory preponderance gave us Tory finance—reckless military expenditure, general wastefulness and the rapid increase of debt. Throughout the Victorian era, general Liberal supremacy gave us, in like manner, Liberal finance—reduction of debt, remissions of taxation, and a general tendency to limit the expenditure of the State to the verge of parsimony. Certainly the Liberal method is the more rational of the two, but neither, I am convinced, is the method of Labour. The new party stands for a third ideal, that of fruitful constructive expenditure. It supplements the traditional Liberal policy of debt reduction by the socialistic policy of creating national assets ; it is as much opposed in spirit to the parsimony of Joseph Hume as to the recklessness of Pitt ; it is altogether alien to the ideals of Victorian Liberalism.

Here we may see the prospect of future conflict between Labour and much of current Liberalism. Many people fear the coming of the professional politician. He may have his faults, like other people, but at least he will save us from the rule of the amateur. The average party candidate is probably more honest than cynics think, but he is a pitiable figure enough. He expresses, and probably feels, a sympathy for all sorts of diverse and inconsistent things, and he perceives, no more than the man in the street, the inherent contradictions implied in his pledges. He will promise to support Old Age Pensions, Housing Reform, the Feeding of School Children, and Work for the Unemployed, and at the same time protest against a shilling Income Tax in time of peace, and advocate the repeal of the Breakfast Table Duties ! His politics are

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those of the sentimentalist. He is a humanitarian, and dislikes poverty ; he is a Liberal, and soaked in the tradition of "retrenchment." The consequence is that his pledges are a hopeless mass of contradictions ; and he is not likely to fulfil any of them that cost money, except in a very parsimonious and inadequate manner.

Here it is that the Labour candidate parts company with the average Liberal who has not emancipated himself from the tradition of Hume and Gladstone. We may rest assured that the Labour man will not be easily frightened at the cost of the reforms to which he is pledged. The financial policy of Labour may not yet be fully developed, but when it is, it will certainly be the centre of political struggle in the immediate future.

For this reason, in spite of all its crudities, we may welcome the financial scheme which Alderman Saunders Jacobs of West Ham has recently submitted for consideration to the branches of the Independent Labour Party. The members of this organisation give political inspiration to the Trades Union movement, and any scheme that they consider and adopt is sure to become widely known and popular throughout the Trades Union branches of the country. The scheme, too, has one clear merit—it does suggest a method whereby something like adequate funds might be obtained for all the *immediate* programme of Labour, for Old Age Pensions, Housing Reform, Unemployment and the Feeding of School Children. Great advances could be made in all these matters with the money the promoters hope to get by their proposals ; and the incidental fact that they imply a revolution will not appear so fatal to the trades unionists as they may to middle-class politicians. Personally, I may say, my objections to the scheme as it stands, though grave and numerous, are purely from the standpoint of practical politics, and not of principle. The scheme itself originated so far back as 1898. In that year, the West Ham Town Council petitioned an unsympathetic Tory parliament to give substantial relief to poor districts overburdened by the Education and Poor Rates. They asked for a scheme of Old Age Pensions, and a Treasury grant for Education

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sufficient to reduce the rate in every district to one shilling in the pound, whenever it exceeded that sum. Two clauses in the petition embody the financial proposals :

Your Petitioners humbly submit that, in the preparation of the next Budget, your Honourable House should make provision for a further graduated Income and Property Tax on all incomes over £1000, graduated thus : On every pound of the second £500, 8*d.*, on every pound of the second £1000, 9*d.*, on every pound of the third £1000, 10*d.*, on every pound of the fourth £1000, 11*d.*, and so on at the rate of 1*d.* per pound increase on every £1000 until the tax shall amount on the last thousand pounds to 240*d.* in the pound, the whole of every pound of income beyond the last £1000 so taxed to be taken by the State as Income and Property Tax.

Your petitioners further humbly submit that, with a view to augment the fund to be raised for Education and Old Age Pensions, the Estate Duty on all Estates of deceased persons between £10,000 and £100,000 capital value should be doubled, and in all cases between £100,000 and £200,000 capital value trebled, and on all Estates from £200,000 to £500,000 capital value quadrupled, and that the capital value over £500,000 of all Estates exceeding such £500,000 should belong to the State, and that Succession, Legacy and other Death Duties should be proportionately increased on a graduated scale.

Now I do not consider that the bulk of the working classes, the majority that is of the present electorate, would have any objection whatever to the above scheme as it stands. On the contrary, I am convinced that, in a way, it voices the true instincts of democracy, and that those who would call it "robbery" and "confiscation" are speaking the thoughts only of the middle and upper classes at most ; those who would denounce it on economic or similar grounds would speak for the economist, perhaps the doctrinaire, not for the people. The West Ham scheme has

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recently been the subject of grave consideration by many thousands of the most intelligent of working-class politicians, and I should be surprised to learn that it has met with serious opposition. It will be seen that the latter part of the scheme virtually limits the amount of money any man can leave to his heirs to £360,000, since the duty at present charged on estates of £500,000 is 7 per cent. ; and, under the scheme, this would be quadrupled. Again, even with the Income Tax on the '98 basis of 7*d.* in the pound, the maximum income any one could enjoy on the scheme would be about £116,000 a year. I am convinced that not one working man in ten would have any objection to such limitations, both of bequest and income ; while it is quite certain that all the more active Labour politicians would joyfully approve. Very few working people believe that any one can honestly have done £360,000 worth of work for the nation, and equally few would see any injustice in limiting his property accordingly. Personally, as a matter of principle, I have no objection whatever to either proposal, and, as I say, I am sure the vast majority of the democracy have none either ; as a matter of practical politics, however, I see many objections, but of these I feel equally confident most working people will see none. A large, a very large, sum of money is required for social reforms which are essential to the well-being of society ; and, hitherto, this is the only scheme I have seen that even pretends to supply it. Those who are aware of its many crudities must see their way to any equally lucrative substitute if they are to satisfy the demands of Labour. It is the first rough draft of Labour's financial programme, and as such should be considered at least worth criticism and consideration.

The scheme is obviously not a mere stage in social evolution ; such a budget as is here proposed would be in itself a revolution. As such, it would be an impossible budget for any Ministry not admittedly revolutionary, impossible from any Liberal or Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer. However, by slow stages, Englishmen might work up to such a budget as this. A cautious Labour Ministry, aiming at preserving the existing order until a better could be gradually built up, might well introduce

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it. For we must make no mistake about it; a Labour Ministry would want as much money as this scheme would yield for immediate social reforms, and it would insist on finding means to obtain it without adding to the indirect taxes that fall on the people. I have, therefore, tried to estimate the yield, in the first year of such new taxes. It is perhaps needless to say the amount is enormous.

Let us take the proposed Estate Duty first. It will be observed that Alderman Jacobs proposes to institute a new graduation on all estates over £10,000 capital value. Estates of £500,000 are to pay four times the present duty of 7 per cent. Hence such an estate would pay 28 per cent., or £140,000, while any excess over £500,000 would be confiscated wholly by the State. I express no sympathy with the shorn plutocrats; but may say that, in the returns for the year 1903-4, the last I have seen, there were 29 such estates valued at £32,884,884. Out of this sum, had the proposed law been in force, the heirs would have been permitted to retain 29 times £360,000, or £10,440,000, and the balance of nearly 22½ millions would have been taken as duty. Unfortunately Mr. Jacobs has rather confused matters by not following accurately Sir William Harcourt's stages of graduation, and it is not possible to tell so accurately what claim the State would have had on more moderate fortunes. Approximately, however, whereas on those estates, great and moderate alike, affected the Treasury actually received 10½ millions in all, it should, under the proposed method, have obtained 41½ millions, or 31 millions more. I know of no figures from which we can make anything like as accurate an estimate of the yield from the revised Income Tax. Rather abstruse calculations, however, with which it is not necessary to trouble the reader, lead me to put £12,000,000 a year as the probable increase in the Treasury receipts from this tax. Thus the Treasury might be expected to realise, *in the first year*, about £43,000,000, were these proposals adopted and submitted to without civil war. A great sum, but none too large for imperative social needs. Old-fashioned politicians, accustomed to slow and moderate financial changes, may dismiss such a scheme as monstrous, may see only the immense practical difficulties in the way; but those

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who know how bitterly such a sum of money is needed, how vast a power for social betterment it might be, will be apt to think lightly of such obstacles. Labour will abandon this scheme only for one equally profitable ; it will put the needs of the people first and the convenience of politicians second.

I have said that the scheme might be expected to yield over forty millions in the first year, but what of the future ? Of this revenue by far the larger part comes from the new Estate Duties, and of this, over £22,000,000 comes from the twenty-nine estates valued at over half a million each. But it is obvious that with the passing of such a law, all such estates would virtually cease with the existing generation. Year by year, as the very wealthy class died out, the revenue from the Death Duties would decline ; and, ere long, it would probably be no greater than at present. The moderate character of Sir William Harcourt's duties has served to conceal an element of fiscal unsoundness, not in the duties themselves, but in our manner of using them. At present the executors of a millionaire pay their 8 per cent., and generally long before the estate is again taxed, the savings of the fortunate heir have made good the loss. But the tax is one on capital, not on income, and in theory the receipts from it should be treated, not as yearly revenue, but as capital. Were the tax so heavy as to prevent heirs, during an average life, raising such estates to their original value, such a method of finance would be ruinous. I favour strongly a further graduation of the Death Duties, so as to put some definite limit to the power of private bequest ; but money thus obtained should be treated as State capital, not income, and as such, invested for the public good.

A moment's reflection will probably convince the reader that, not only is such a method fiscally sound, but that it is the only one possible. Such a drastic measure as Alderman Jacobs proposes could hardly be carried out until the way had been prepared by a series of more moderate budgets. But the principle of it is sound enough, and might be introduced by some such scheme as this : At present every millionaire pays 8 per cent. Suppose this duty were increased to 10 per cent., and on every million after the

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first an additional 10 per cent. were levied, twenty on the second million, thirty on the third, and so on. It is obvious that the executors of an estate of ten millions would thus have to pay five millions duty, while all additional money above ten millions would be confiscated. It is clear that the executors of such estates could not realise the money without selling the bulk of their property, probably at a ruinous sacrifice. The simplest, and probably the only practicable way of dealing with the matter would be to allow the executors to hand the estates themselves over to the Government, and to give them cash or Government stock for their shares in them.

Subject to some such modification, we may rest assured that the principle of Alderman Jacobs' scheme will form a cardinal point of Labour's fiscal policy, however much the party may be compelled or assent to make thin the end of the wedge before it is admitted. The result will be the beginning of a new fiscal era. Military Toryism alienated the assets of the Crown and accumulated a monstrous National Debt; individualist Liberalism, true to its ideal of honest parsimony, reduced the Debt, but did nothing to increase the assets of the State; Labour will use its power to form, by the graduation of the Death Duties, the nucleus of a National Store.

Fewer words perhaps are needed on the Income Tax proposals. Here one great difficulty is that of evasion. As Alderman Jacobs' scheme would still leave it possible for a man to enjoy an income of over a hundred thousand pounds yearly, there is some nearer approach to possibility that such a measure might be forced on one of the old parties; while of course the tax would here be on income, and not on capital. Coupled with a heavy Death Duty, however, this latter is perhaps a difference of small importance; for of course there would be a yearly reduction in the number of people paying Income Tax at the higher rates. The risk of evasion, too, would be great. Rich people would divide their estates among their families, and the many successful attempts already made to defraud the revenue would be increased. It has been recently stated that only eighteen people pay Income Tax on over £50,000 a year. Seeing

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that, in the year with which we have been dealing, no less than seven millionaires died, this, if it be a fact, points to a vast amount of fraud among the very rich. I am convinced that any attempt to graduate the Income Tax should be accompanied by some form of "tax and buy" bill, so that any compensation for land, buildings or goodwill, compulsorily taken over by any public authority, could be assessed on the basis of the Income Tax actually paid for them. In this way our energetic local bodies would render valuable aid to the Income Tax Commissioners in checking fraud. Without such a safeguard, I fear little can be done.

Such a tax as Alderman Jacobs suggests would, however, have one consequence well worth consideration. Many people have a fear lest attacks on unearned incomes should have the effect of "driving capital out of the country." This, as far as it refers to actual capital employed at home, is largely a bugbear. Labour and Socialist journals are justified in poking fun at the idea of capitalists packing up their railways, mines and factories for transport to the Continent. A heavy increase in the Income Tax, however, would really have a great effect on the amount of taxable income under Schedule C, with, I think, results socially and politically so beneficial as to outweigh any falling off in the estimated revenue. Recipients of income from money invested abroad often elect to live in England, in spite of the shilling Income Tax; they certainly would cease to do so if that tax were augmented to anything like 20s. in the pound. A heavily graduated Income Tax would have the immediate effect of relieving England from the incubus of the South African millionaire. Any slight falling off of revenue caused by the loss of the shillings such people now pay, would not, I am sure, lessen to any extent the joy of the Labour Party at their disappearance. For the rest, the scheme makes no distinction between earned and unearned incomes. This is a fatal defect. In a rough and ready way, at any rate, this could easily be done, and a valuable precedent established for future guidance. If, however, we are doubtful about the possibility of graduating the Income Tax, and consider it impossible to carry out Alderman Jacobs' revision of the Death Duties, except in a series of

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stages, we must not suppose that the new Labour movement, the most vital thing in British politics to-day, will be content to allow social reform to lag behind for want of money. Some other scheme must be provided, and an effective one, or we shall soon be very near to revolution. Can we provide a more workable alternative? I think so, and the remainder of this article will be a brief attempt to suggest the lines on which it may be done.

Alderman Jacobs' scheme errs by attempting too much at once in two ways, and nothing at all in others. There are three main ways of obtaining money for social reform: by new taxes, by saving, and by raising revenue from other sources than the taxes. Of these Alderman Jacobs only takes one; while, under that head even, he omits one ready method of raising revenue—a tax on Land Values. This is a social and financial necessity to which nearly every progressive—except Mr. Harold Cox—is already converted, and, without it, no scheme of financial reform is complete. Again, he has failed to note that of the money now raised by taxation barely one-fourth is used productively; one-half is wasted, socially speaking, on the Army and Navy, while nearly thirty millions a year goes, as interest and redemption of the National Debt, to pay for the military follies of the past. I have strong convictions as to what should be the Labour policy with regard to the National Debt, but the subject is too complicated to deal with here; it would require an article to itself. Some of the money should, however, be got by retrenchments on the Army and Navy; but of course it is mere commonplace to say that this is the policy of the Labour Party.

A more important help should come from the Labour ideal of raising revenue apart from taxation. We have already seen how important is the principle involved in the graduation of the Death Duties as a means to establish a national income-yielding capital, and our towns have shown us how valuable an aid municipal trading may be to the finances of a local authority. It would be well to invest money derived from enhanced Death Duties as far as possible in Railway Stock, bought in the open market. By this means the State would gradually acquire a voice in the

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practical management of our railways, a thing that may prove very useful in the future. The annual profit derived from such investment should, however, be generally spent in some great scheme of public improvement. Here we see the nucleus of a growing fund for a State Forest Department, and a means of dealing more and more adequately every year with the problem of unemployment. As yearly more and more deceased millionaires paid toll to the nation the available funds would increase, and we should be raising a valuable asset for our children.

But this is not the only way in which income-bearing property can be accumulated for the nation. Once we have created a State Trading Department, its usefulness can be increased in many ways. The State should follow the lead of the municipalities and acquire such public monopolies as it can conveniently work. Generally this would involve the creation of debt ; where this is the case cautious progress may be necessary. There are ways, however, in which the immense credit of the State is almost all that is required without the creation of a new permanent debt. Credit is the basis of banking and insurance. The State can at any moment issue fire and life policies ; and, as soon as it does so, it will be the strongest insurance corporation in the country, because it will be the safest. Similarly with banking. Let the State withdraw all those restrictions on the Post Office Savings Banks made in the interests of private banking, and ere long the banking business of the nation will fall into its own hands. This, however, is part of a more modern way of dealing with the National Debt, and, as such, should be elaborated in another essay.

No one of these many methods of raising funds for social reform will realise for some time the thirty millions Mr. Jacobs' scheme would have drawn from the Death Duties, nor even the twelve that might have come from his graduation of the Income Tax. Taken together, however, they would raise at once a large, and, what is more, a steadily increasing revenue. It is a plan fully in accord with the ideals of Labour, while it has a decent chance of being accepted, though reluctantly, by other parties not

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anxious to quarrel with the Labour vote. I have little doubt that ere long something like it will be accepted as the immediate fiscal programme of the new party, and that it will form the basis of other and more advanced schemes in the future.

BROUGHAM VILLIERS

THE FATHER OF FRENCH RATIONALISM

THE extraordinary clear-headedness of the French, their readiness to pursue an idea to its logical term and its complete literary and social expression gives to their fortunes, at any given moment, an air of finality which seems at first sight to contradict that law of perpetual variation, which we know to reign in the process of human affairs as in all other manifestations of Nature. It is needless to say that this appearance is delusive; changes occur in France as elsewhere. And, owing, perhaps, to this very capacity for logic in the French, they occur there in the most startling and dramatic way : generally in the way of a complete *volte-face* : all must be pulled down, all must be built anew. Napoleon has hardly climbed to the height of his uncertain despotism, when he proceeds to remodel the whole religious and social life of the nation, as if he were founding an empire for eternity, instead of for eleven years. He falls, and Monarchy and Republic, restored Empire and restored Republic follow each other with bewildering rapidity. Nevertheless below the surface, scintillating with *coups d'état* and proclamations, appeals to the people, and counter-proclamations, all based on mutually exclusive first principles, the work of slow and gradual transition goes on. The character of an individual does not move as quickly as his mere intellect : even more uneven in their gait are mental and temperamental changes in a nation.

This law of variability, the condition of all life, was never more completely ignored than in the France of the seventeenth century. All then was built for eternity and

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seemed, indeed, in a fair way to possess it. The great *châteaux* of the period, some of which, spared by the Revolution, still stand as symbols of that brilliant past, did not defy the hand of time more audaciously than the systems of its philosophers, theologians and politicians. They were more successful in their defiance because masonry, if good enough, enjoys a permanence denied to thought. From the great King himself—one of the few kings who have also been statesmen—down to the lay-sisters of Port-Royal, all, whether their cause were the political greatness of the nation, the superiority of the Ancients over the Moderns, or the niceties of prevenient Grace, fought in it from the point of view which may be supposed to animate St. Michael in his contest with Lucifer. Truth was absolute, Truth was eternal, error must in the long run fail from a sort of metaphysical necessity. It was but a dream, though a great and majestic one, and France has not yet got through the throes of her awakening. Nevertheless some of the acutest intellects that have ever been took it for a reality. Let us humble ourselves.

There could be no greater mistake than to imagine that the affirmations of the seventeenth century in thought, in theology, in statecraft, were but a vain form of words, idly repeated by a generation which had no taste for speculative inquiry. On the contrary, that century was a far more truly philosophical period than the succeeding one which usurped the name. Pascal, the Prometheus of modern Catholicism, stands alone in the magnificence of his despair, Descartes and Malebranche are the two French philosophers who have a real claim to be considered metaphysicians. The genius of the age was constructive in every department of human affairs. It was constructive and it undertook its task in an *à priori* spirit. Every one argued from absolute premises to irrefragable conclusions. It was not only the party in authority that did so; Jurieu treated the recalcitrant Bayle in precisely the same way as he himself had been treated by Bossuet. It did not occur to any one to appeal to facts, partly because most of the controversies in the air could hardly be affected by such an appeal, and partly because men had hardly come to recognise their

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relevance to their own well-being. Yet, just then, unsuspected of philosophers and theologians, after an interval of centuries, during which men had a free hand, with which to fashion a cosmos in their own image, the fact was being born again into the world of human significance. It was their unconsciousness of this which delivered these great thinkers bound into the hands of their successors of the following century, men, as a rule, considerably their inferiors, both in intellect and imagination. Already, when the glory of Lewis the Great was at its height, when Bossuet's *Universal History* appeared to culminate, and thereby find its justification in the Church and State of France, the man was born who represented in his life and work more completely perhaps than any contemporary, the coming spirit of negation and criticism which was surely to sap the foundations of that splendid edifice. That man was Fontenelle.

Bernard le Bovier, Sieur de Fontenelle, was born at Rouen in 1657. It was one of his originalities to live to be a centenarian, an originality which enabled him to fill successively the rôles of prophet and traditional authority. To the seventeenth century he prophesied of what was to come, and to the eighteenth he stood as a reminder of its origins. No one contributed more than he did to the bringing about of that vast change in opinion which occurred during his life-time.

The right view of Fontenelle is not quite easy. No one was ever less like an apostle of new and unwelcome truths. He was the first specimen of a new race of writers. He wrote poetry without being a poet, philosophy without being a philosopher, science without being an experimentalist. He does not appear to have had a passion for truth but, on the whole, to have preferred it; the gossip of his time reflects him as moved by a tempered curiosity, mitigated by a love of ease and good food. Voltaire, whose enthusiasm could hardly brook so measured a zeal, summed him up, not without a touch of malice, as "le discret Fontenelle." His *bonne amie*, Mme. du Tencin, placing her hand on his heart, one day, said to him: *Vous n'avez là que du cerveau*. Although he allowed Mme. de Lambert to be his almoner, he appeared to pride himself on his egotism.

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To him is attributed the well-known recipe for happiness—*tenir le cœur froid et l'estomac chaud*. He may have thought it, but it would hardly have been in keeping with his discretion to have said so. His wit was inimitable. An aged lady, having one day said to him: "It seems that Providence has forgotten us on this earth." "Chut," replied Fontenelle, placing his finger on his mouth with an air of mystery. His main characteristic was moderation in all things, a moderation which evidently must have been based on singularly torpid senses. Mme. Geoffrin tells us that he never laughed or wept, he was never in a hurry, and never even approximated to losing his temper. When he took an apartment he left the furniture exactly as he found it, without changing a nail. Most wonderful of all, when he had gout, it was painless: "*seulement son pied devenait du coton, il le posait sur un fauteuil, et c'était tout.*"

Before proceeding to the part he played in forming his age, it will be useful to consider, rather more in detail, the nature of that great change in human opinion to which I have already referred, and which marks off the eighteenth from the preceding century. Bossuet gave to the absolutism, both civil and ecclesiastical, of his time a final and classical expression; in order then to know what it was that the eighteenth century superseded, it is to Bossuet that we must go. One of the clearest heads and greatest masters of style that ever lived, he never leaves us in any doubt as to his meaning. "If," says Sir James Stephen, "it were the order of nature that God should be represented upon earth by infallible priests and irresponsible kings, it would be impossible to imagine a nobler system of education for a great king than that which Bossuet conceived, or a teacher better suited to carry it out than Bossuet himself." The education of the ill-fated dauphin furnished him with the occasion for the expression of his theory of human life. The *Connaissance de Dieu et de Soi-même*, the *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle* and the *Politique tirée de l'Ecriture Sainte* were the three divisions into which his teaching naturally fell, and these books remain for ever among the finest examples of the constructive power of human genius and the most important landmarks in the

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history of European thought. Their rhetoric is so ample and so magnificent, their reasoning so close and so solid, that even now, one is tempted to overlook the baselessness of their premisses, and can hardly believe that so substantial-seeming a fabric melts under criticism into "air, thin air," with all "the cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces, the solemn temples" of its visionary splendour.

Renan has told us that the medieval scholastic was, in spite of his mysticism, a sound rationalist ; *i.e.* he accepted the fact of revelation as the ultimate term of a process of reasoning which started from grounds level with the rest of experience, and that it was not until such grounds had given way that ecclesiastical apologists were driven to "prove the divinity of Jesus Christ by the battle of Marengo." Bossuet would have shared Renan's contempt for the modern apologists of "Fideism." It certainly would be hard to find in Voltaire or in Tom Paine a more uncompromising expression of the principles of the early rationalists than the following little piece of epistemology which occurs in the *De la Connaissance de Dieu et de Soi-même*. "The understanding (*l'entendement*) is the light which God has given us for our guidance. It has different names ; in its inventive and penetrating capacity it is called spirit (*esprit*) : in so far as it judges and directs to truth and goodness, it is called reason and judgment. Reason, in so far as it turns us from the true evil of man which is sin, is called conscience." And he says that reason, if not seduced by passion, is infallible. "The understanding is never forced to err, and never does so, *except from want of attention : and if it judges wrongly by following the senses or passions derived from them too readily, it will correct its judgment if a right will make it attentive to its object and itself.*" (The italics are mine.) Certainly Bossuet cannot be said to err in putting the power of reason too low. What was it then he lacked ? He lacked facts, or rather he took for facts what were not facts, and the reason he did so was that he had no criticism. His superb eloquence and the rationalism of his process blinded him to the sources of his premisses, which were, in truth, his conclusions. He somewhat naïvely betrays himself in his controversy with Richard Simon, the Oratorian father, who, two centuries

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before Loisy, maintained in the Catholic Church the right of reason to investigate the title-deeds of theology. "*Les dates font tout en ces matières!*" he cries. Yes, indeed. All the more reason, one would think, to subject them to the severest scrutiny. Let us however not be unjust. It would be idle and absurd to blame Bossuet for his lack of acquaintance with the science of historical criticism; it is not illegitimate to deplore the spirit of blind certitude which prevented him understanding the nature and relevance of Père Simon's inquiries. He seems to have regarded such speculations from that purely conventional and professional point of view which the more educated Christian pulpit of to-day, whether Catholic or Protestant, does not hesitate to disavow. The view which Bossuet derived from, among others, "*quatre ou cinq faits authentiques et plus clairs que la lumière du soleil (qui) font voir notre religion aussi ancienne que le monde*"—one gasps at the statement—was one of the most complete and universal absolutism. Whatever might be said about nature it was indeed the divine order "that God should be represented upon earth by infallible priests and irresponsible kings." And the chain of such representatives had never been broken. "From Innocent XI who fills to-day so worthily the first place in the Church" he traces back that august line through St. Peter and the pontiffs of the Ancient Law to Moses and Aaron: "*de la jusqu'aux patriarches et jusqu'à l'origine du monde! quelle suite, quelle tradition, quel enseignement merveilleux!*" One is reminded of Pascal's "*Sem qui a vu Lamech, qui a vu Adam, a vu aussi Jacob, qui a vu ceux qui ont vu Moïse. Donc le deluge et la création sont vrais.*" Certainly Bossuet was right, as a matter of tactics, in resenting criticism of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. He was right, that is to say, so long as it was possible to suppress such criticism by other than critical methods: but, although he knew it not, the day of such absolute power, whether in the realm of opinion or politics, was drawing to its close. And now we may return to the part played by Fontenelle in the transition.

What that transition led to primarily, was the emancipation of the individual judgment from the control of authority

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of any kind. This emancipation constituted the first "moment" of modern rationalism. In that moment the individual was conceived as self-subsisting, infallible in his understanding (to which understanding, precisely reproduced in every human being, "Reality" was exactly correlative) and perfect in will, *i.e.* spontaneously and naturally good. Ignorance and sin, moral and intellectual evil were brought about by the environment of humanity and were due to the institutions which prevented man's understanding and will having free play. Taken as a whole and in its maturity this attitude represents the most naïve and simple form of individualistic optimism. Its philosopher was Voltaire and its religion was Deism; and the French Revolution and Kant were lying in wait for it. Though the apprehensions on which the movement was based were essentially positive, its first attitude was inevitably one of negation—negation of the values enshrined in the system with which it found itself in conflict. That system, as we have seen, held the whole of human life in the meshes of authority; the first task of the emancipators was then to dislodge authority. Until that was done nothing could be done. Now the phenomenal basis of the Church's authority was, as such, unsound, for the facts on which it was alleged to rest could not be proved. Bossuet's line of communication between Heaven and Earth was discovered on investigation to be non-existent. This was the position of the early rationalists, and so far they were right, and as long as the Church confined her apologetics to mere empiricism she was bound to be beaten, for she was not so good an empiricist as the *philosophes*. When, however, from being negative, they became positive and took over human nature themselves on the schematism of the authority of the understanding, relying on the formal contraries of the Church's ethical teaching, on *i.e.* the natural rectitude of each human will as such, and on the perfectibility, in terms of present experience, of humanity considered as an aggregate of individuals, they failed. Kant blew up their naïve objectivism, showed that the Deistic God who was conceived as a part only of all reality was a mass of contradictions insoluble to the individual understanding, while the Revolution and its resulting

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re-actions made short work of their social speculations. So it comes about that the name of a pioneer of the movement like Fontenelle is mainly associated with rebellion against the Church. M. Faguet has severely criticised his methods. I would suggest in deprecation of his criticism that it cannot have been very easy at the time to see how such an attack could be led. For although ecclesiastical authority could not, in strict logic and theology, have axiomatic value, for its existence was given as a phenomenal fact based like others on evidence, appealing finally to the individual judgment, yet in process of time it had naturally enough come to have some such value for its adherents. And, at the time of which I am writing, only very few French men or women were not its adherents. Moreover, on the Catholic premisses, the moral values of life were inextricably intertwined with the assents of Faith: it was impossible to prove the purity of the motives which led to their rejection. If the orthodox were unable to impute that favourite commonplace of the controversial pulpit, a desire for sensual indulgence to the Free-thinkers, they could always fall back upon pride, an absolutely unanswerable charge. Also it must be remembered that, although Louis XIV had refused, at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, to re-establish the suppressed Inquisition, the Parliament of Paris did not scruple to use force in defence of orthodoxy. All this rendered necessary or appeared to render necessary to the great men who began the emancipation of the French mind a course of systematic concealment of the real extent of their dissent from the popular creed, which, in our own day, would be repugnant, it may be hoped, to both the defenders and the opponents of any established form of Christianity.

It is impossible to deny that Fontenelle had a natural aptitude for the part. Indeed so admirably fitted was he for it that, on the providential theory of the apparition of great men, such a coincidence between the workman and the task seems to speak uncontrovertibly in favour of a special design. To say as much as this is to admit that Fontenelle's character leaves much to be desired: I have already pointed out that it was not through the individual

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superiority of their champions that the ideas of the eighteenth century succeeded in replacing those of the preceding one. It was the stars in their courses that fought for them, the process of nature, the unconscious dialectic of things that was their secret accomplice.

Fontenelle's first appearance in literature, apart from his share in the quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns, with which we are here hardly concerned, was, oddly enough, as a poet. It has been ingeniously remarked that while his ideas were in advance of his time, his style was behind it. This is true of his poetry at least. His *Pastorales*, his *Bergeries* and his *Eclogues* are pure Louis XIII. Inane and insipid as they are, they are however without the note of falseness characteristic of the *genre*. His shepherds do not talk like poets and philosophers, and he cleverly avoids the snare of the literary convention of rusticity. This is something to be thankful for, but not to be false is not enough for art. His Coryns and Phebes are pure nullities. They simply do not exist at all. In his *Discours sur la nature de l'Eclogue* he naïvely remarks: "La poesie pastorale n'a pas grand charme si elle ne roule que sur les choses de la campagne. Entendre parler de brebis et de chèvres cela n'a rien par soi-même qui puisse plaire." The opinion is defensible but seems out of place on the lips of a pastoral poet. He appears to have seen only one thing in the "simple life," namely leisure, and judges, in his dispassionate way, that this would probably lead to an unusual development of amativeness. So he gives us scenes of a cool and measured gallantry, in which neither his own nor his reader's interest is ever for a moment seriously engaged. One imagines him reading them aloud to Mme. du Tencin or Mme. de Lambert, punctuated by the handling of his snuff-box, and an occasional drawing-room smirk. Truly, "C'est une chose d'une tristesse morne que les *juvenilia* d'un homme qui n'a jamais eu de jeunesse." It is unnecessary even to mention his tragedies, which are the productions, says M. Faguet, of a man who is the nephew of Corneille, but who appears to be his uncle. Fontenelle was clever enough to realise in time that he had mistaken his vocation. Perhaps it came home to him when he was correcting the

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proofs of his fourth Eclogue, in which occurs what is surely the most unpoetical line ever written in metre :

“ Quand on a le cœur tendre, il ne faut pas qu'on aime.”

La Bruyère, who hated him, gave him a place among his “Caractères,” as Cydias. “Cydias (est) bel esprit : c’est sa profession. Il a une enseigne, un atelier, des ouvrages de commande, et des compagnes qui travaillent sous lui. Prose, vers, que voulez-vous ? il réussit également en l’un et en l’autre. Demandez-lui des lettres de consolation, ou sur une absence, il les entreprendra ; prenez-les toutes faites et entrez dans son magasin, il y a à choisir.” There is this amount of truth under La Bruyère’s rather savage attack, that Fontenelle, while entirely devoid of enthusiasm except on one subject, which we will shortly consider, possessed so supple a brain as to produce the effect of a universal intelligence. As a poet he failed, nor need his failure surprise us, for more than a supple brain is required for the production of poetry. The fact is that he was a characteristic and magnificent man of letters, being, indeed, the first specimen of that type which was to play so important a part throughout the eighteenth century. Now the man of letters, as such, does not need to be an original thinker, still less need he be a creative artist. On the other hand, he requires, in order to fulfil his functions in the republic of the mind, a quick and facile intelligence, apt to seize the finer shades of opinion, all of which he should be ready to welcome in turn. For he must be without prejudices of any kind, which, in the average state of human nature, is tantamount to saying he must eschew personal convictions. He is skilled to detect the real trend of ideas ; among contemporary notions he readily, and, as it were, instinctively distinguishes those that are pregnant with the future from merely associational survivals. He is to the thinkers, who are the creative forces of the time, what the *Pensée*-writer is to the moral philosopher, he circulates the small change of their ideas. He can only permit himself one passion—curiosity : but the more he has of that the better. Fontenelle was all this in a supreme degree.

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I have said that he had one enthusiasm. There was one thing in which that *dilettante*, indifferent spirit really did believe, and that one thing was science. Here he showed the *flair* of the perfect man of letters in recognising, almost at its birth, the new energy which was to play such a part in the immediate future, while, at the same time, he gratified his curiosity, the most fundamental and serious tendency of his nature. Already, in 1680, when St. Simon had set the fashion to the Court of an occasional retreat in the austere cloisters of de Rancé, Fontenelle was in the habit of disappearing for several days at a time. He was not at La Trappe but at a little house in the Faubourg St. Jacques. Here he used to meet and confer with the mathematician Varignon, the Abbé de St. Pierre and other scientific persons. This little house was indeed the cradle of the eighteenth century in France. If Bayle provided in his dictionary an arsenal of sceptical arguments for the *philosophes* to direct against the Church, it was from the *cenacle* of the Faubourg St. Jacques that the positive side of the movement proceeded. That positive side aimed at what all the scepticism in the world could never have effected, the substitution of the prestige of science for that of the Church. It is often said that Fontenelle, unlike those robust dogmatists who carried the movement which he had helped to initiate to its maturity, was a sceptic. It is very much a question of words. All who question the values of popular theology or politics are apt to incur the charge. For it is the nature of those values to be held by those who maintain them with such immediacy of conviction that discussion of any kind is apt to seem an irrelevant impertinence, more or less certainly of the nature of doubt. I do not think that Fontenelle was in doubt on the subject of Christian theology as the tradition of the Church of his day presented it. In spite of his cautious mode of expression, of the modesty—or diplomacy—with which he refrained from pushing his arguments to their legitimate conclusion, from committing himself to an open breach with ecclesiastical authority, there is I think no sort of doubt that he positively, and with full conviction, rejected the whole system. The Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who are not

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supposed to be particularly stupid people, were quick to detect the "essential impiety" of his *Histoire des Oracles*, which is, ostensibly, a defence of pure religion from the ill-informed zeal of its misguided advocates. Nay, we must go further. Not only do I think that Fontenelle was definitely anti-Christian, but it seems unquestionable that his mind, his temperament, his character, call it what you will, was incurably hostile to religion of any kind. He did not accept the Church's Messiah and felt no sort of necessity to look for another. The good Fathers were right, his impiety was essential. To slightly alter a well-known ecclesiastical formula, he may be said to have been invincibly irreligious. This appears, I think, very clearly in his *Entretiens sur la Pluralité des Mondes*, which is interesting as being one of the first attempts at the popularisation of science. It was published in 1686. Fontenelle says in the preface that he asks the same attention from ladies in order to understand all he has to tell them—"tout ce système de philosophie"—as is required to enjoy the *Princesse de Cleves*. And so clear is his exposition, that his astronomy reads like a novel. The book had an immediate and immense success. *Toutes ces dames* devoured it eagerly, which shows the ground covered in fifteen years since the publication of the *Femmes Savantes*. In 1671 the *Entretiens* would have died of ridicule. The form is very characteristic. The astronomer shows the heavens at night to a charming marquise whose questions and comments enable him to relieve the strain of the reader's attention by neatly-turned compliments and gallant epigrams. The marquise having remarked that the beauty of the day is that of a brilliant blonde, while the beauty of the night possesses the more touching quality of a brunette, her instructor replies: "J'en conviens: mais en recompense une blonde comme vous me ferait encore mieux rêver que la plus belle nuit du monde avec toute sa beauté brune." The little book is not, however, entirely made up of such courtly trifling. It goes far, very far. "Il serait embarrassant en théologie qu'il y eût des hommes qui ne descendissent point d'Adam . . . mais je ne mets dans la lune que des habitants qui ne sont point des hommes." A valuable concession

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indeed to a theologian inclined to embarrassment. This insidious remark is a good instance of Fontenelle's anti-theological tactics. But it is not in such feline strokes of the paw that the bias of the book is most apparent. It is rather in the complete absence of any religious sentiment or even poetical emotion at all. The author shows himself blankly unreceptive of the feelings which a hundred years later would stir the imagination of Kant when contemplating the starry heavens. The *Origine des Fables* and the *Histoire des Oracles* are masterpieces of quiet malice. He tells us in the *Origine des Fables* that the history of all nations, Greeks, Gauls, Romans, Americans, and Chinese begins with fables . . . all nations, that is except the Chosen People, among whom a special attention of Providence has preserved the truth. Here the very qualification which saves the orthodoxy of the statement is made to gently insinuate its own improbability. In the *Histoire des Oracles*, a work adapted from the Dutch of one Van Dale, he establishes that the Pagan oracles were not the work of demons, and did not cease at the death of Christ. The thesis seems innocent enough, but Fontenelle's treatment of it leaves the reader with the conviction that demons and oracles of every kind are more than suspicious: a conviction which he must be slow-witted indeed not to be inclined to apply to Rome as much as to Delphi. Yet nothing has been said that would formally justify such a conclusion. Certainly his attack on revelation lost nothing in acuteness for being disguised under the mantle of an exquisitely pudic orthodoxy that shrank from the contagion of superstition.

Fontenelle reaches his greatest height of paradoxical brilliancy in his well-known *Dialogues des Morts*, published in 1686. Of this book Voltaire wrote to Frederick in 1751, "Le défaut de Fontenelle, c'est qu'il veut toujours avoir de l'esprit. C'est toujours lui qu'on voit, et jamais ses héros; il leur fait dire le contraire de ce qu'ils devraient dire, il soutient le pour et le contre, il ne veut que briller." Was that after all so grave a fault, good Master? And does the criticism come well from the author of *Saul* and other historical *facéties*? However we may explain this unfavourable judgment, and there is more than one alternative

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to it being the expression of unbiassed opinion, it remains a fact that Voltaire himself never wrote anything wittier than these imaginary conversations. Their *verve* is inimitable and never flags for a moment, there is not a dull line in all the forty. Fontenelle chooses the most delightful incongruous companions for the discussion of every subject under the sun, and reaches most quaint and surprising conclusions. Faustina proves to Brutus that her behaviour to Marcus Aurelius was of a most disinterested description and was dictated by the very same motives which led Brutus to murder his friend. Erasistrates, a physician of antiquity, considerably damps the enthusiasm of Harvey over the benefits which his discovery has conferred on mankind by the remark that he does not observe any diminution in the number of annual arrivals on the shores of Styx. Socrates explains to Montaigne that antiquity was a poor affair after all, and that there were just as many fools and knaves in the Athens of his day as in the Paris which Montaigne knew.

The *Dialogues* give us the answer to the question of Fontenelle's scepticism. As we have seen, he was no sceptic in matters of religion, being definitely anti-religious on positive grounds; nor was he a sceptic in what he called experimental philosophy, *i. e.* science, where he found indeed his one point of certitude. Where he was a sceptic was in morals. Not that he doubted that the guidance of reason was what men required in order to be good and happy, but that he more than suspected that the nature of things did not in fact permit such a result except in so small a minority of cases as to leave the world, in the main, a stage for knaves and fools. The wise should be encouraged to get what amusement they could from the spectacle. He used to say in later years, that the amount of enthusiasm around him frightened him. The important thing to note about this temperamental attitude—for although he may have supported it by argument, it was that *au fond*—is its difference from that of the second generation of the eighteenth century, of the philosophers who carried the movement of emancipation into the political sphere. One sees the sort of imaginary dialogue which Fontenelle would have put on the lips of, say, Turgot and Machiavelli.

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His other most important work is his *Mémoires* of the Academy of the Sciences, of which he was perpetual secretary. It was one of his duties to write *éloges* of the deceased academicians. For once Cydias becomes almost enthusiastic and really eloquent. He realised the dignity and beauty of these workers' lives, and he makes us feel them in a series of short biographies which really can hardly be too highly praised. The simple virtues of these great men, their probity, their immense and peaceful labours, their delightful piety, like that of Ozanan, who said it belonged to the Sorbonne to dispute, to the Pope to decide, and to the mathematician to go to Heaven in a perpendicular straight line; or their simplicity, like that of the great chemist who said of the Regent: "Je le connais, j'ai fréquenté dans son laboratoire. Oh! c'est un rude travailleur!"—all the features of their blameless existences are lovingly and carefully detailed. We are surprised to find another Fontenelle, very different to the author of the *Dialogues des Morts*, a Fontenelle who does not sneer, who has almost forgotten to be epigrammatic. Almost but not quite. We are told that M. Dodart "accompagnait de toutes les lumières de la raison la respectable obscurité de la foi." Science had seized him and, having seized him, never let him go. His nimble brain moved easily in what he called experimental philosophy. And it is in his services to science—not the services of an independent discoverer, but the no less necessary ones of the writer who familiarises the world with the results obtained by specialists in their laboratory or at their telescope—that his real contribution to his time and the transitional movement of his time consists. He died happily and peacefully, aged ninety-nine years and eleven months, with the characteristic words on his lips: "J'éprouve une difficulté d'être." And the Académie des Sciences has never had such a good secretary since.

ALGAR THOROLD

THE DEMAND FOR PAIN ; HOW SHALL WE MEET IT ?

IT is customary to speak of our desire for happiness as innate and therefore unconquerable, to refer to our puritanic tendencies as extraneous, and likely, if care is not taken, to disappear from the national character altogether, our very use of the word puritanic in this wide sense suggesting a background of history during which the state of mind to which this adjective applies was unknown. Therefore preachers utter sincere warnings against our "growing love of ease and luxury," while moralists regard as quite possible a future when mere enjoyment shall be the chief end of a nation or of an age. Even psychologists fall into this error, forgetting, as do those others, that there is another pursuit, as primitive, as necessary, and as ineradicable as the pursuit of pleasure—namely the pursuit of pain.

It is strange that this truth should be ignored by those who know that in the new world, as in the old, the most virile of savage races have felt this necessity, the wild Indian youth seeking visions through starvation as naturally as any brain-sick hermit of medieval times. No pilgrimages for pleasure have ever equalled in extent or duration the many and marvellous pilgrimages for pain, and though it is customary to speak of certain nations as having been sunk in debauchery and physical ease, it needs but little knowledge to perceive that in such historic instances it was but one class, falsely represented as the nation, that so degraded itself ; whereas, from the Spartans of ancient days to the Zulus of to-day, there have been many instances of

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countries maintaining for generations an ideal of conduct that was essentially that of the ascetic—a dread of ease and pleasure never losing its hold. From the beginning of time Man has not only borne the sufferings that Ignorance or Nature created ; he has clung to them. He has not regarded them with secret impatience and flung them off when able to do so ; he has held them long after the remedy was within his reach, and has persecuted those that offered the remedy. Thus we understand why the Hindu fanatic, hating the English soldier who puts down sutteeism by force, should equally hate the English savant who proves from his own books that sutteeism is not an integral part of the Hindu creed. We understand it, that is to say, when we realise that the penance is not something imposed on us by a religion ; it is not even something necessarily increased by a religion ; it is a deep-seated need that expresses itself by way of dogma, but which must find an outlet in rational ages, as well as in those more obviously superstitious.

Not only does each age see the need of a penance ; each age is instinctively able to choose, almost automatically, the type of penance which it individually requires, harm ensuing only when through habit, it retains a form of suffering coarser than the spirit of the time necessitates. Thus the Japanese, artistic, temperate, gay, qualify their delicate joy in life by an ideal which enjoins them to quit it for a punctilio, without the coarse counter satisfaction that is the spirit of our one-time duel. Our English ancestors again qualified their robust and healthy animalism with an ideal of Feebleness and Disease so powerful that, through its influence, plagues were encouraged, and anæsthetics, up to modern days, regarded with disfavour, it being only one fact among many that a cure for small-pox, springing up in Edward the First's reign, was forced to lie dormant for centuries till the people's hold upon their misery was relaxed. Nowadays this ideal is lost, not because our age is—save verbally—more rationalistic, but because our lesser robustness does not require this remedy ; our search for a penance has gone in another direction.

Our ideal in fact is no longer the world a hospital, but the world a workhouse ; it is the industrial struggle that

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we now guard with reverential formulæ, the pilgrimage for work having acquired the sanctity formerly given the pilgrimage of pain. The common notion regarding this struggle as being essential to a strong national character has just as much superstition in it as the ancient respect formerly accorded to what Oliver Wendell Holmes terms the tuberculous virtues ; it is no less superstition because in the one case as in the other there is considerable truth. Our error lies in the assumption (again with the one as with the other) that if this special penance were removed, the age would not immediately, and almost mechanically, evolve another, perhaps of a better type, to take its place. We know that the truly religious medieval mind could not have realised that a people could remain virtuous if altogether healthy, and we remember how the convulsionists of Cevennes, removing to England, considered that goodness had departed from them because, as a result of the change of air, they no longer suffered from epileptic fits. Similarly the thinker of to-day cannot picture a nation continuing strong and enterprising, with the fear of want and destitution altogether legislated away. It was not understood by the one, as it is not comprehended by the other, that human nature requires a penance but not necessarily this penance, that it may safely be rescued from suffering just because it cannot cease to suffer, that as one form of pain is removed, it will swiftly and healthfully reach out for another.

It is our failure to grasp both halves of the truth that has made the Utopias of past and present valueless and without human interest. Those old-time philosophic but inexperienced writers that built on the *Rasselas* basis, saw clearly that humanity could not be happy, yet pictured their utopians as discontentedly gay, falsely supposing them devoid of that instinct (possessed by the veriest savage) which qualifies ease by some organised suffering. Our modern Utopias, our "Looking Backwards," and the much superior works that have followed them, show us, however, a still stranger sight—a people happy to be happy, asceticism, the earliest instinct of humanity, altogether perished ! We wander through these hygienic streets, among these quietly cheerful, unlaborious people, and we see no sign of the

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dark and painful something that must be behind all this—the originators of these fanciful Paradises actually putting forward, as a proof of their success, that there *is* no such dark and painful thing behind. Perhaps Mr. H. G. Wells has come nearest to a conception of this need, when he pictures his Samurai mildly ascetic, and bound likewise to spend seven days a year in the utter silence of the wilderness, though this rule to be effective would need to apply to the whole nation, and to be compulsory by some form of public opinion equal in actual power to that of a law. It may be that this return to the pilgrimage ideal would be sufficient for an age that had reached some standard of thought and self-control. It is possible, however, that out of that new gentleness of life would evolve the heroic Japanese spirit so tragically shown in the drama of Kesa Gozen, whose racial duty it was to commit suicide merely to bring home to her lover the iniquity of his proposal! If we have altruism in material matters, it is not impossible that a strange spiritual altruism should be another outcome of the new spirit. On the other hand, considering our different national temperament it is more likely that the penance should take some less subtle form, and also (family rule being practically non-existent with us) that the State should exercise some influence in the matter.

There is nothing really fantastic in this notion of a State-ordained penance when we remember the position of the medieval church in this respect, or with what satisfaction the people welcomed this guidance of their ascetic energies. It may be that a future age may see its need in this respect even more clearly, and be capable of gratifying it without the husk of religious formulæ, even as we obey certain hygienic rules without requiring to be assured, as was the case in Mosaic days, that these are pleasing to the Almighty. Thus wandering through a genuine Utopia of the To Be one might notice certain specially laborious or dreary forms of mining or factory work to which every citizen at periods would resort, less for the material good of the nation than for his own ethical needs. In this the individual would acquiesce as naturally as he now does—save when it is too prolonged—in industrial suffering—that is to say, he would

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acquiesce, not quite comprehending the rights of it, yet instinctively obeying a law which coincides with his own deep-seated instinct. The State itself will have taken a new departure, realising the concentrative and dynamic force of asceticism, and yet never forgetting how much that valuable force was wasted and rendered injurious when running at will through uncontrolled channels. In those days the wise men of the race will act not as originators but as regulators, learning to know the national psychological moment when penance is to be modified or changed.

CONSTANCE CLYDE

LORD ACTON'S LECTURES¹

MANY circumstances have contributed to give to Lord Acton a unique position among English historians. That he was not, save in the last few years of his life, the holder of an academic chair, might excite surprise in Germany or in France, but hardly in England, where almost all the great historians have been either wholly dissociated from the drudgery of the lecture room, or involved in it only during a small portion of their working lives. The interesting thing about Acton is not that he was independent of teaching, but that he was never caught in the machine which grinds out ordinary Englishmen. He was not at a Public School or University; he was not a Protestant; at the formative period of his career he deliberately placed himself under the direction of a German theologian, who was one of the greatest masters of historical knowledge in Europe. By various accidents of birth and connection he became free of the best society in Munich and Berlin, in Paris, Rome and London. He knew the scholars, the diplomatists, the statesmen, talked and wrote with ease in at least four foreign languages, and probably read and annotated more printed matter than any one who has ever lived. And he was cosmopolitan in the intimate as well as in the superficial sense, for as a liberal Roman Catholic he was equally versed in the literature of authority and revolt, and knew, as no other Englishman, the great central tradition of post-Tridentine theology.

It is creditable to the historical revival in England, that the appointment of such a man to the Cambridge Chair of History should have been received with general applause.

¹ *Lectures on Modern History*, by the late Lord Acton, Ed. by J. N. Figgis and R. V. Lawrence. Macmillan & Co. London, 1906.

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At the time of his appointment, in 1895, Acton had written little, and his writings, though more numerous than was generally supposed, were scattered through many periodicals, and were of the critical rather than of the constructive type. A single article in the *Quarterly Review* revealed to those who knew a high power of ordered and impressive narration. What he would do at Cambridge, and how he would do it, excited the liveliest interest. He was "the dark horse," as Creighton said, and some predicted that a man who had placed so strict an inhibition on unweighted utterance, would find continual and copious discourse an intolerable affliction.

The new professor proved to be a brilliant success. The Cambridge Modern History was planned, and lectures were delivered which apparently succeeded in arousing the keenest interest among the tutors and undergraduates who attended them. Of these discourses the first volume is now published by two competent Cambridge scholars, and establishes the fact, never doubted by those who knew the man, that Acton was master of his own learning. He guides his disciples rapidly and surely through the chief phases of European history, from the days of Petrarch to those of Washington, showing the large sweep of the landscape, and yet revealing at every turn his close inspection of detail, his fresh and masculine judgment of values. Even a tyro might, we imagine, gain from these lectures a clear view of the vital moments and the significant men in modern history, though he would be in no position to appreciate "Masenius, one of those who anticipated *Paradise Lost*," or the "very learned Steuchus of Gubbio"; while the experienced student, who already knows the highway, will gain many a glimpse into remote and attractive regions of learning. Yet good and massive as these lectures are, we do not read the volume with a complete sense of comfort. The inaugural discourse upon the study of history which the author himself gave to the public was a highly-finished piece of workmanship supported by a great apparatus of notes; and it is reasonable to assume that, if the Professor had lived to revise his subsequent lectures for the Press, he would have been contented with

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no standard less exacting. As it is, no footnotes are given, even where statements are made which contravene the accepted belief, and some of the later chapters of this book would probably have been expanded and partially re-written had they been prepared for publication by their author.

Nevertheless there is here sufficient matter to display the fine historical quality of Acton's mind. The style is stiff and weighty, full of knowledge sternly compressed, but fused in the steady glow of a large intelligence. There are many ways of painting the decline of the Italian mind in the later half of the sixteenth century, after Rome had been sacked, and when the dominion of the Spaniard was established in the land. Lord Acton's way is to point out that Baronius, the most learned Italian of his age, knew no Greek. The same sharp decision of phrase meets the reader at every turn. Lorenzo Valla is "the strongest," Æneas Sylvius "the most intelligent" of the Italian humanists. Sixtus V is the "ablest of modern popes"; Duperron the confessor of Henry IV "one of the most expert divines of modern times"; Calvin's Institute is "the finest work of Reformation literature," a verdict which has the approval of the present editor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*; the author of the *Imitation* was "the greatest religious writer that ever lived." Some learned pages upon liberal manifestations within the Jesuit Order lead up to Father Petavius "who first described the evolution of dogma and cast every system into the melting-pot of history." Occasionally, as in the description of Cæsar Borgia, we are shown a portrait rather than a miniature. "Cæsar's talent was of the imperial kind. He was fearless of difficulties, of dangers and of consequences; and having no preference for right or wrong he weighed with an equal and dispassionate mind whether it was better to spare a man or to cut his throat. As he did not attempt more than he could perform, his rapid success awakened aspirations for a possible future. He was odious to Venice, but a Venetian who watched his meteoric course wonders in his secret diary whether this unerring schemer was to be the appointed deliverer. He was a terror to Florence, yet the Florentine secretary to whom he confided his thoughts in certain critical hours, wrote of him as men

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have written of Napoleon and erected a monument to his memory that has secretly fascinated half the world."

Machiavelli's non-moral view of politics is to Lord Acton the infamous thing. In his inaugural discourse he charges his hearers "to try others by the final maxim that governs your own lives, and to suffer no man and no cause to escape the undying penalty which history has the power to inflict on wrong"; and again, "it may be sometimes better to risk excess in vigour than in indulgence, for then at least we do no injury by loss of principle." A question at once arises, which Acton nowhere thoroughly discusses, as to the relativity of the moral standard. Admitting with Goldwin Smith that "justice has been justice, mercy has been mercy, honour has been honour, good faith has been good faith, truthfulness has been truthfulness from the beginning," it is still admissible and indeed essential to make allowances for environment. There have been societies in which theft is regarded as an honourable accomplishment. The moralist will condemn the society, and think no better of the practice because it has received the unenlightened sanction of a barbarous community; but the censure meted out to the individual marauder will surely be mitigated by the fact that he is conforming to the conventions of his own age. Lord Acton is of course perfectly right to hold up George I to the execration of posterity as a murderer. There can be no serious doubt but that Count Königsmark was put to death with his knowledge, and the crime, though accompanied by some extenuating circumstances, was fully as odious to contemporaries as it is in the retrospect. Again the enormities which stain the origin of the Whig party are very proper objects of denunciation; but Lord Acton himself seems to extenuate the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by the reflection that when toleration was withdrawn from the French Huguenots, the Oates plot was only six years old, and that to the French "it must have appeared that the English were turned into ferocious assassins by the mere force of their religious belief." The fact is that, like all good historians who are interested in the moral award, Lord Acton in practice applies a double standard. He denounces murder and cruelty wherever he finds it; but at

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the same time he is careful to exhibit the texture of a society, in which murder is promoted and persecution enforced, not that he may weaken the abhorrence felt by good men for crime, but in order that his readers should understand how certain states of society are less favourable than others to the practice of virtue.

It is explained that the guiding principle of modern history is the growth of "liberty." Into the metaphysical controversy which besets the problem of liberty and has bred "two hundred definitions" of the term Acton does not enter. "You will know it," he writes, "by outward signs: Representation, the extinction of slavery, the reign of opinion, and the like; better still by less apparent evidences: the security of the weaker groups and the liberty of conscience, which effectually secured secures the rest." Here again we feel the need of some fundamental discussion as to the frontiers of toleration and persecution. Lord Acton traces the process by which political liberty grew out of the claim for religious toleration, which was in turn the creation of sectaries who dissented from dissenters. In other words, the principle, which he holds to be of the most transcendent value in human affairs, was the result of the fissiparous tendencies of the Reformation, of that anarchy of opinion which it is the aim and function of the Papacy to correct. Lord Acton would of course have desired a reformation of the Papacy in the sixteenth century, such as might have averted schism, and he appears to think that but for Luther's unfortunate belief that the Pope was Anti-christ, the rent might have been repaired in time. But it is open to very grave doubt whether the Papacy, even if reformed by Contarini and Sadoletto, would ever have encouraged the free expression of religious opinion. Such a course would have been alien to the spirit of unity and repugnant to the genius of the institution itself. All the more honour is due to the few chosen spirits, who like the author of the *Theodicee* and the writer of these strenuous and eloquent lectures, have hoped for the reunion of Christendom upon a basis of assured freedom to conscience.

H. A. L. FISHER

SOME RECENT BOOKS

FROM A COLLEGE WINDOW¹

IT is a shift of the landscape-gardener, when no stream runs through the grounds, which it is his pride and profession to beautify, to manipulate any straggling rivulet; and by delaying its passage in shallow pools, and by breaking its thin waters over rockery cascades, to eke out the stint of nature. Some skill is required, if such pretty makeshifts are to please; some gratitude is the due of such successes. A little white water-fall dash-dashing upon carefully-deposited stones, a still surface of hoarded water, may beguile an idle imagination; but they are poor substitutes for the "sky-scattering" reaches of a flowing river, or the bubbling rush of a stream from the hills. Turn the contrast to a literary analogy and the difference is greater. There are books large and placid like lakes; there are books with a fantastic sprite in them, like the dancing sparkle of sand at the bottom of a welling spring. Some run chuckling like a brook; some, like a torrent, make us shout in ecstasy against the dizzy thunder of their roaring, "Who gave you your force, your joy, your imperishable life?" Some, like "dangling water-smoke," waste in air; some, like steep orchard runnels, twist their silver over a bed of grass. Some are ditch water, some the open sea; some are puddles reflecting a single star; some convey their information with the perfunctory directness of a water-pipe; and others eke out their natural supply amid the

¹ *From a College Window.* By A. C. Benson. Smith, Elder and Co. 7s. 6d.

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devices of a Capability Brown. Much of the literature given to the world in the shape of "Essays" answers to the last description. "From a College Window" is an example of how much can be made of a very slender stream of ideas.

Mr. Benson has written of *Sociabilities* that if people like society well and good ; that, if they do not, there is "no moral obligation to attend uncongenial gatherings" ; of *Conversation*, that charm, sympathy and full mind are perhaps the first qualities of an agreeable talker ; of *Beauty*, that perceptions of beauty are intermittent, that it is unwise to live for them alone, though they belong to the deeper side of life ; of *Egotism*, that its best cure is to cultivate an interest in others, and a recognition of its own small place in the universe ; of *The Criticism of Others*, that to discuss others is inseparable from an interest in them, and innocent if we are just to their good qualities—while not shutting our eyes to their bad ones ; of *The Simple Life*, that it is only genuine in the simple ; of *Games*, that their importance is now over-rated, and that no one need be ashamed of admitting to a lack of interest in them ; of *Habits*, that they must not be too tyrannical, but that without good, regular, working habits men rarely accomplish much ; of *Priests*, that they are good and bad ; of *Ambition*, that its prizes should not be sought by those who know their powers are unequal to its tasks, but that it is often useful as an incentive to the young ; of *Religion*, that it primarily concerns the heart. He has described the pleasure it gives him to write down these things clearly. He has succeeded ; they are clear.

In the opening essay he says that he has "come to perceive that the one thing which gives value to any piece of art, whether it be book, or picture, or music, is that subtle and evasive thing which is called personality." He therefore promises to speak plainly of what his life has been and tell what his point of view is. This point of view shows itself most clearly in his remarks upon religion, upon youth, and in the descriptions of quiet collegiate surroundings. A few quotations will make it understood.

"Sincerity and simplicity ! if I could only say how I

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reverence them, how I desire to mould my life in accordance with them. . . . For I believe that there is in life a great and guarded city, of which we may be worthy to be citizens. We may, if we are blest, be always of the happy number, by some kindly gift of God ; but we may also, through misadventure and pain, through errors and blunders, learn the way thither. And sometimes we discern the city afar off, with her radiant spires and towers, her walls of strength, her gates of pearl ; and there may come a day, too, when we have found the way thither and enter in ; happy if we go no more out, but happy, too, even if we may not rest there, because we know that, however far we wander, there is always a hearth for us and welcoming smiles. I speak in a parable, but those who are finding the way will understand me, however dimly ; and those who have found the way, and seen a little of the glory of the place, will smile at the page and say : ‘ So he, too, is of the city.’ ”
p. 19.

Now upon youth : “ in the old days I demanded agreement. I am now amused by divergence. In the old days I desired to convince ; I am now only too thankful to be convinced of error and ignorance.” . . . “ In the old days I used to enter a circle with the intention of endeavouring to be felt, of giving pleasure and interest. I now go in humble hope of receiving either.”

Now upon his college life : “ So when I entered my book-lined rooms, and heard the kettle sing its comfortable song on the hearth, and reflected that I had a few letters to write, an interesting book to turn over, a pleasant Hall dinner to look forward to, and that, after a space of talk, an undergraduate or two were coming to talk over a leisurely piece of work, an essay or a paper, I was more than ever inclined to acquiesce in my disabilities, to purr like an elderly cat and to feel that while I had the priceless boon of leisure, set in a frame-work of small duties, there was much to be said for life, and that I was a poor creature if I could not be soberly content.”

It is here that some readers will be inclined to smile at the page. There is something in the wistful blandness with which all experience is regarded from this college window,

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in the yearning for simplicity and sincerity, in the supposition that it is an easy task to tell men what you really are and think, in the patronage of youth from the standpoint of elderly humility, in the tendency to nestle down in mysteries of the universe, in the smoothness of the transitions from the snug to the sublime, in the assumption that alacrity and easiness are the signs of the best talk between friends, there is something in all these characteristics which suggests the suspicion that "leisure set in a frame-work of small duties" is the secret of a serenity which is taken too seriously.

A college window would be a very good niche from which to survey the goings-on of men provided the stars, religion and the struggles of the big common world were not introduced to intensify the curtained cosiness of the author's retreat. He writes so pleasantly of old books, old libraries, of the quiet and dignified lives lived in old colleges, of an evening fire, of mild intellectual pleasures and of wide quiet sympathies that it is a pity that the emotional horizon to which he so often looks should not be clearer, more circumscribed, more Horatian, which would suit better the wistful fondness with which he dwells upon such things. It is a tired book—a book with no energy of thought in it, though it indulges in doubts; it is a bad sign therefore that it should be so popular.

CHARLES DICKENS¹

MR. CHESTERTON'S book on Dickens contains a great deal of acute criticism. All the most important things there are to be said about Dickens get said in the course of a long, tremendous talk upon human nature, society and religion. That is the characteristic of Mr. Chesterton's criticism; his real subject is life in general, his theme is used as illustration of his subject; his writing has the quality of talk. He develops his ideas as he goes along, and the

¹ *Charles Dickens*, by G. K. Chesterton. Methuen & Co. 7s. 6d.

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reader catches his excitement and shares his amusement. He begins, perhaps, with a moderate statement of his opinion. No sooner is that stated than you can almost hear him say, "Stop, I will go further than that," then, "Yes! I will even say . . .," then as though suddenly enlightened by a fresh confirmation, "In fact, the only truth worth a moment's consideration in my first statement lay in what probably struck you as far fetched"—with that the final clinching epigram is produced. This progression is decidedly exhilarating. What is more entertaining than a crescendo of extravagant conviction, or more stimulating than to find yourself at the end astonished and yet still convinced? The reader who opens this book pulls on at once a pair of spring-heeled boots; he finds himself leaping about the world with surprising agility, clearing hedges that the cautious creep through, bounding along logical thoroughfares, landing in mystical back gardens, hanging, released from the influence of gravity, over churches and cities, plunging and dipping and soaring and bumped, as though he were tethered to a huge, half-filled balloon. Mr. Chesterton is one of the few authors who can be read when the mind is like flat soda water, in which no bubble wriggles to the surface. He can aerate the stagnant mind. His style is a tonic to mental inertia. To parody his own manner we might go on to add that indeed it is only the tired who realise the joys of agility, and they alone therefore can appreciate him fully. In a contented and vigorous frame of mind we can tread in the minute and meticulous footsteps of Euclid; but when we are weary we must traverse great spaces of thought. We must leap continually from conclusion to conclusion or sink exhausted. The only rest the mind can know is the effort of perpetual motion.

This book is buoyant with the spirit of improvisation, which makes Mr. Chesterton so popular and companionable a writer. The good things in it have the air of having been chased down and caught in the glow of discussion, and of having been followed by a chorus of laughter. To take one instance out of many, Mr. Chesterton is discussing Mr. Gissing's criticism that Dickens with all his sympathy with the

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lower classes never made a working man, a poor man, specifically and highly intellectual. He points out that this is a very characteristic complaint, and that intellectualism was not present to Dickens' imagination in any character whatever. What was present to his imagination was character—a thing which is not only more important than intellect, but is also much more entertaining. . . . Gissing would have liked to prove that poor men could instruct themselves and could instruct others. It was of final importance to Dickens that poor men could amuse themselves and could amuse him. He troubled little about the mere education of that life ; he declared two essential things about it—that it was laughable and that it was livable—the humble characters of Dickens do not amuse each other with epigrams ; they amuse each other with themselves. The present that each man brings in his hand is his own incredible personality. In the most sacred sense and in the most literal sense of the phrase “he gives himself away. A man who gives himself away does the last act of generosity ; he is like a martyr, a lover, or a monk. But he is also almost certainly a fool. . . . The key of the great characters of Dickens, is that they are all great fools.” On he goes, explaining as he rolls along what he means by a “great” fool, expatiating, suggesting examples of gorgeous personality, showing that such types are commonest among the humble ranks of life, that you will never find such a one among the successful, on any cabinet bench, in any literary circle, at any society dinner, “least of all will you find him in artistic society ; he is utterly unknown in Bohemia. He is more than clever, he is amusing. He is more than successful—he is alive.” To enjoy the quality of his writing, you must imagine it spoken—you must hear the voice and share the laughing satisfaction of the talker who has said what he wanted to say, more emphatically than he expected. This is climax number one in the discussion. Then, as will happen in talk, Mr. Chesterton goes on to pile something more on the top of his climax—just to see if it will balance. He goes on to prove that complete personalities “are too strong to conquer”—a flight impossible to follow in cold print. This brings him to Mr. Toots

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and the following admirable criticism. "Dickens does not gloss over one of his dismal deficiencies. He does not alter Toots in any vital point. The thing he does alter is in us. He makes us lively where we were bored, kind where we were cruel, and above all free for a universal laughter when we were cramped in a small competition about that sad and solemn thing—the intellect. . . He does not alter the proportions of Toots ; he alters only the scale." Mr. Chesterton next applies himself to emphasising the apostolic injunction that we should suffer fools *gladly*, and thence he passes to his favourite theme that the ordinary is the extraordinary, the unromantic the romantic, the common sacred—he has said it perhaps too often in the course of the evening, but then his illustrations are always amusing and unexpected—"Every day we are missing a monster whom we might easily love, and an imbecile whom we should certainly admire. This is the real gospel of Dickens ; the inexhaustible opportunities offered by the liberty and variety of man." Earlier he has shown that Pickwick is essentially a book of romantic adventure, and that no one can have such adventures as an unadventurous fat old man of the middle classes. "For romance, he is better than a troop of your troubadours ; for the swaggering young fellow anticipates his adventures just as he anticipates his income. Hence both the adventure and the income when he comes up to them are not there." Simplicity of mind is the key to all adventures. "The whole is unerringly expressed in one fortunate phrase—he will be always 'taken in.' To be taken in everywhere is to see the inside of everything. It is the hospitality of circumstance. With torches and trumpets, like a guest, the greenhorn is taken in by Life. And the sceptic is cast out by it." There is much truth in this, but as a matter of creeping fact it is unfortunately as frequent to be taken in without being entertained, as it is, fortunately, to be entertained without being taken in.

The account of this chapter will show that the book must be read on the whole, in the spirit in which a man listens by the fireside to an exuberant and ingenious harangue. It is not a book to interrupt ; it will tell you most, if you let it run on. But this direction does not

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apply by any means to all the criticisms it contains, some of which keep all their value when they are taken out of the sociable atmosphere of emphatic talk. Speaking of the mixture of common-sense and sensibility in Dickens' work, Mr. Chesterton says, "We hear to-day chiefly of two types, the dull man who likes ordinary things mildly, and the extraordinary man who likes extraordinary things wildly. But Dickens liked quite ordinary things; he merely made an extraordinary fuss about them . . . If we compare him with the other men that wanted the same things (or the other men that wanted the other things) we feel a startling absence of cant, a startling sense of humanity as it is and of the eternal weakness." How true too this is: "Dickens' characters are perfect as long as he keeps them out of his stories. Bumble is divine until a dark and practical secret is entrusted to him—as if anybody but a lunatic would entrust a secret to Bumble. Micawber is noble when he is doing nothing; but he is quite unconvincing when he is spying on Uriah Heep." In a subtle piece of criticism Mr. Chesterton analyses the vision of Christmas happiness, of which Dickens is the poet. "It is the reverse of a gross or material thing. It is more poetical, properly speaking, than the Garden of Epicurus. It is far more artistic than the Palace of Art. It is more artistic because it is based upon a contrast, a contrast between the fire and wine within the house and the winter and the roaring rains without. It is far more poetical, because there is in it a note of defence, almost of war; a note of being besieged by the snow and hail; of making merry in the belly of a fort." It is happiness that stands at bay. "Cosiness" not "comfort" is the word which expresses it; a word which Mr. Chesterton declares stands for something so English that it cannot be translated. This is not true, though perhaps *petit et commode* is as near as the French can get to the meaning of "cosy"; the Germans have two words which express the idea,—*traulichkeit*, which combines the ideas of intimacy and safety, and *gemütlich*, expressing the friendliness with which surroundings animate and inanimate may envelope us. It is surely a conception common to all the northern races.

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Of many of Dickens' characters, he says that they are the creations of a mythologist. "They are creatures like Punch or Father Christmas. They live statically in a perpetual summer of being themselves. It was not the aim of Dickens to show the effect of time and circumstance upon a character; it was not even his aim to show the effect of a character on time and circumstance. (Whenever he tried to describe change in a character he made a mess of it, as in the repentance of Dombey or the apparent deterioration of Boffin.) It was his aim to show character hung in a kind of happy void . . ." "The story was but an incantation to call up the immortals. Once the great characters are face to face, the ladder by which they climbed is forgotten and falls down, the structure of the story drops to pieces, the plot is abandoned, the other characters deserted at every kind of crisis; the whole crowded thoroughfare of the tale is blocked by two or three talkers, who take their immortal ease as though they were in Paradise." It is not then the happy endings that make Dickens' books happy reading—or merely his hopefulness, but this "dehumanised vitality" of his characters, "this irresponsibility of creation."

The spirit he at bottom celebrates is that of two friends drinking wine together and talking through the night. But for him they are two deathless friends talking through an endless night and pouring wine from an inexhaustible bottle.

It suits Dickens to be praised with gusto; but it requires exceptional subtlety to praise him well. Mr. Chesterton is vivid and lavish in admiration, and he can say subtle things in a broad and boisterous way.

IN THE DAYS OF THE COMET¹

It is two years ago since Mr. Wells published "A Modern Utopia," a sociological fiction. It was a remarkable book, likely to appeal to those in whom the idea of

¹ *In the Days of the Comet*, by H. G. Wells. Macmillan & Co.

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bettering the world rouses some kind of emotion. Such people, with the exception of the "special grievance" reformer, require to have their imaginations helped, when they turn from struggling or protesting against things as they are, to picturing some state of things they would wish to bring about. Impulse and refreshment may be got from dreaming of the future, if only the dreams are fairly rational; and the man who can describe a social life which is at once splendid and possible—however improbable and remote it may be—will have done more than most can do to inspirit his generation.

Mr. Wells is the man best fitted to write such books; for his talents are drawn in two directions by interests rarely combined in any strength, but both equally strong in him. These interests converge in the writing of books of this kind. He is intensely interested in the mechanism of society and in public ends, and yet his interests are always flying off and centring upon the emotions of individuals which concern themselves far more than they concern the community. Moreover his imagination is extremely logical, while his psychological insight is peculiarly penetrating whenever he deals with human feelings which are confused, and with men and women who are acting from impulses which they cannot direct. Utopias are apt to be dull—not even counting the infernal millenniums which are frequently offered us—because the emotional life of the people who inhabit them is not imagined. We learn the conditions under which they live and gather that they must be more fortunately constituted to have created them; but what difference all this makes to that part of life which we know to be most important, the authors never show. Mr. Wells' new book supplies this deficiency. *In the Days of the Comet* is a love story which begins among the confusion and misery of the present, where the emotions of the characters are tortured and twisted into jealousy and hate, and emerges into the clear serene air of a large orderly and dignified existence. It is not like the last Utopian book, an account of the complete social machinery whereby a dignified and happy life is secured of nearly every human being; we only get a dream-like glimpse of the happy city

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from the tower, in which the author is writing this story of his youth "before the change." It is a story intended to suggest what the relations of men and women might be when conditions no longer as now make the best kind of love a defiant alliance against the world ; and to remind us that in Utopia as elsewhere personal relations must always remain the essential thing in life. Now this kind of defiant passion, working in a crude and hungry youth, is a situation of which Mr. Wells is a master. The early story of Nettie and her hero is excellent. It is not so completely and triumphantly successful as the treatment of the same emotion in "Love and Mr. Lewisham"; it is more hastily done. But there is the same reality about it, it is marked by the same matter-of-fact method of putting down what just was said and felt in a way that makes the reader feel how easily the emotions described may be transfigured by a touch of heroism or how easily they may be debased into something mean and violent and self-centred. In this case jealousy, failure and tortured pride drive the hero into a determination to shoot his love and the rich young man, who has persuaded her into running off with him. He tracks them down one night by the sea-shore, and at the very hour when the strange comet, which has been coming nearer and nearer for months, outshining the moon, distorting the familiar aspects of things, and rousing forebodings in the minds of men, strikes the earth, he fires and misses. Through the thickening clouds of green vapour which begin to choke the air he chases them, until he falls unconscious ; and so does every living creature on the earth, at the same moment. From this sleep men wake into a new health and consciousness. War—a war by the bye between England and Germany was in progress at the time—property, politics, money, no longer can compete with the experience of fellow-feeling and delight in men living, which the new consciousness brings to every man who wakes. They set about changing the world accordingly, and the hero who wakes in the corn-field where he fell, and finds a famous statesman nursing a sprained ankle in the lane near by, is present at the first cabinet council which begins the work of destruction and reorganisation. He

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meets Nettie and her lover again and the three discuss their situation. Her hero goes away because he wants her still too much ; but she sees him go with reluctance. At the end, though he marries and we are given to understand that the relation between Nettie and her first lover is as close as ever, she and the hero are united. For "after the change" apparently affection does not bring jealousy. Now it is here, just at the point where the utmost skill of the novelist is required, that Mr. Wells fails us. The only way of really convincing us that such a state of things is possible is to go minutely into the thoughts and feelings of the people in question ; instead of doing so he simply assures us, in passages which certainly have some beauty, that it was all right. He is apparently anxious to make us believe that in each case the relation was equally serious and good ; for he does not show that one was of subordinate value to the other. If the nature of these people has been radically changed, then they have no interest for us ; but if they remain like us, when the affections are concerned, though they may be saner and more just, and live fuller lives, what we are still most anxious to know about them is how the fact of another person becoming all important to some one they loved did not pain them. Did they all become persuaded that "love like the intellect grows bright gazing on many truths" ? If so with what struggles and suffering did they subdue their feelings to their belief ? Did this happen without a struggle ? Then the author must show us *how* it happened ; for though we are familiar with the idea of a series of genuine love affairs in one life, we cannot easily believe them going on at the same time. Mr. Wells has written a love story which ends in Utopia, but he has not studied the effects upon life then so closely as he did before the change.

DESMOND MCCARTHY

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THE conflict with the Lords, with which Mr. H. W. Massingham deals below, is bound to come. They will certainly not pass Liberal legislation ; they have no right to dictate to the Government when it shall

The Lords go to the country ; and the acceptance of defeat at their hands would dash the hopes of that vast body of men and women who, by whatever label they may call themselves—Liberal, Radical, Progressive, Labour, Socialist, Christian Socialist—see in the present House of Commons the most hopeful instrument of social reform that has existed in English public life since 1868. If the House of Commons, fresh from an election, is to admit the right of the Lords to alter its wishes in any material point, it will be giving away its case, and weakening its hands in a struggle in which it cannot afford to neglect any element of strength. Such a defeat would mean not only the loss of the actual measures concerned ; it would mean the framing of future measures in a half-hearted manner, in order to secure their acceptance by a Conservative assembly. Meantime, the power of the Lords must not be under-rated. Liberals are in danger of forgetting the great tactical skill which that chamber has always shown, and which it has not by any means lost. It is choosing its ground shrewdly

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to-day. On the Education question it is confining itself to such amendments as will enable it to say to the people, justly or not, that it is accepting popular control and merely widening the Government's own exceptions in the interests of fair play. On the Trade Disputes Bill it will probably give way; that seems at least the natural inference to draw from Mr. Balfour's extraordinary capitulation on the third reading. After having led the Conservative and capitalist attack on the Bill, he suddenly announces that he will not take his party into the lobby against it. Nothing could better illustrate the strength of the popular demand for this reform. If the Lords are not met with a tactical insight equal to their own, they will end by getting their way and will sterilise the best promises of our time. The main issues in the conflict ought to be chosen with the utmost care, and it would be hard to find a better than that of land reform, which would unite all the strongest elements in the party of progress. The House of Commons holds a most powerful weapon in its hands. If the Lords resist the reforms it wants, it can put them into the Budget in the form of financial proposals.

It would be a disastrous close to the wearisome Education controversy, if the House of Lords were allowed to whittle away a Bill which will effect a great reform, and which voices an immense and direct demand. The present measure does not finally solve the Education problem; but it removes a great injustice, and creates a situation infinitely fairer and more hopeful than that which it supersedes. There can be no compromise until the Lords have satisfied the country that they do not aim merely at upsetting the Bill. Some of their amendments are emphatically wrecking amendments. The extended facilities under Clause IV were designed to apply to a small number of schools of an entirely denominational character, where, if there was an objecting minority of parents, accommodation could easily be provided for their children close by. To allow these facilities to be granted on the demand of a bare majority

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of the parents will be practically to exempt thousands of schools from all popular control. To allow them in rural districts, again, would mean giving scope to that kind of corrupt pressure on the voters with which the country is only too familiar at elections. Further, the Constitutional question, to which reference has been made above, is inextricably entangled with the Education question. The House of Commons can take up a determined attitude without necessarily refusing every detail of amendment. It would be wise and just, for instance, to allow the present teachers in non-provided schools to give the special religious teaching which they have been accustomed to give, and apply the prohibition to future appointments only; and to place the religious teaching, if the local authority chooses to give it at all, within the compulsory school hours. It would be bad policy to lose the Bill, and be obliged to raise the whole question again in a year or two, in order to score a victory on quite minor points. The Education question, from the complexity of the various opinions and interests involved, stands on a different level from those for instance of Labour and of Land Reform. These present clearer issues. The claims of property are set definitely in opposition to the rights of the citizen; and, while all the established interests are united in the defence, all the strength of progress, the kernel of which is the Liberal-Collectivist Centre in Parliament, is united in the attack. On the Education question, though the majority of Englishmen at present demand such a system as that of Mr. Birrell's Bill, there are many who think, and rightly think, that a more fundamental Liberalism requires absolute State neutrality in matters of religious opinion; that secular education, with or without facilities, is the only system that is at once just and possible; and that, failing secular education, the privileges allowed to the religion of the majority ought to be balanced by liberal exceptions in favour of other religions.

The new order in England cometh not with observation. The Land Tenure Bill does not appear as important as it

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really is. It was taken up by the Government without much deliberation. Its conduct was put into unsympathetic hands. It is defective, in that it covers

Land Tenure only a part of the ground; for instance, it gives no compensation for continuous good farming, pays no heed to the interests of the sitting as opposed to the outgoing tenant, and leaves untouched the problem of over-renting, which will ultimately have to be dealt with by official arbitrators. Again, it is open to some objection from the point of view of the creation of small holdings, since it puts an obstacle in the way of removing the large farmer in favour of the small; an obstacle, however, which ought to be overcome by the Government amendment which limits the compensation to cases of disturbance "without good and sufficient cause and for reasons inconsistent with good estate management." Nor are its provisions at first sight revolutionary. It compensates the tenant for damage done to his fields by game which he is not allowed to kill; it compensates him when he is turned out of his farm on unreasonable grounds; it establishes a periodical valuation of his land. Nevertheless, with all its shortcomings, it is in a sense the chief measure of the session. Others have been attempts to restore the *status quo ante* the reaction, or to extend the application of principles over which there is no controversy. This is the first instalment of actual social reconstruction. It is a real, living measure, as far as it goes, and will make a difference to many thousands of obscure lives, not so much in the present as in the next generation of tenant farmers, large and small. It means that sporting rights must cease to stand in the way of all other rights over large areas of rural England. It means that men will not buy, or keep, large estates for the social and political domination which they carry with them. Different purposes, a different attitude of mind, will be associated with the ownership of land. The type of landlord who values sport and domination will grow less and less, the type of landlord who values business-like management and good farming will grow more and more common. The chance for the small holder, against whom the present land-system militates strongly, will be much improved, and this it is to be hoped

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will outweigh the obstacle above mentioned. The Prime Minister was right when he pointed to the pheasant as "the most tender subject in politics," and the extent to which this Bill is a challenge to feudalism may be gauged by the bitter hostility which it has aroused among those whose privileges it threatens.

The course of continental politics during the past month has been interesting if not sensational. Police rule in Russia is still diversified by marvellous feats of brigandage, but the state of the country ameliorates as the elections again draw near. Improvements in the status of peasants and concessions to the Jews have apparently helped to promote peace and restore confidence. Politics in Germany are more exciting and hopeful now than has been the case for many years. A democratic feeling is slowly fermenting in society. Many causes have been at work. The prices of meat, bread and provisions generally have been raised by the new tariff, and widespread distress and discontent are appearing among the working classes. Passive resistance has broken out in Poland, where the children refuse to be taught their religious exercises in German. Then again the long-drawn failure of the war with the Herreros, the disclosures of official corruption in connection with it, and the financial sacrifices involved, have made the Kaiser and his government unpopular. Moderate and powerful newspapers are beginning to ask whether the Kaiser's power is not too great, and whether his constant interference in government is either constitutional or in the public interest. His favourite Podbielski, a corrupt Prussian squire, who was mixed up with the Colonial contracts scandal, has fallen before a storm of popular disfavour, and the position of the Chancellor Prince Bülow is confessedly insecure. The prince however began the session well with a speech on foreign policy which has been very favourably received both in Paris and London. The vein of pacific and common-sense doctrine that ran through this statement is particularly acceptable at a time when the jingoes of Europe are so busy striving

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to stir up jealousy and national strife. On the whole the speech seems to promise that Germany will not be a mischief-maker at the Hague or an obstacle to pacific reforms. Nor should the change of Ministry in France be disadvantageous to international comity. M. Clemenceau, the strange but redoubtable editor, whose tongue, pen and pistol have played an almost equal part in terrorising his political opponents, and who has destroyed so many ministries in the past, has now at length himself formed a cabinet, largely from his own journalistic friends and disciples. Upon the whole, French opinion seems to regard him with favour, as a man likely in his own phrase to combine "peace with dignity" both in managing foreign affairs and in solving the long conflict between Church and State in France.

The outlook in Macedonia is, if possible, worse than at any time during the last two years. The complete failure of the much-discussed Financial Commission, whose coming was emphasised by an international naval demonstration, added to the long since discredited gendarmerie scheme, has created a situation of the utmost gravity. Turkish officials in the interior openly scoff at the Powers in general, as is natural and just, and at their Macedonian representatives in particular, as is natural and unjust. The peasants are in a mood of dangerous and astonished despair at finding themselves, at the end of three years of European intervention, groaning under heavier taxes, and still in daily and nightly terror of their lives. There is a new storm-centre at Constantinople, where the Sultan's days seem now numbered, and all manner of intrigue is rife. In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that M. Petkoff, the new Bulgarian Prime Minister, who was expected in some quarters to prove more peaceably disposed than his predecessor, has lost no time in announcing that in his opinion more friendly relations with Turkey are impossible, and that Bulgaria will continue to prepare for "eventualities." Since certain Powers have, for reasons of private policy, refused to endorse the English demand for European control, which would

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have prevented the present intolerable situation, they cannot expect this country to continue to join them in restraining Bulgaria from acting as she thinks best.

On the kindred question of the Congo, where the way to amelioration is much less clear than in the case of Macedonia, Sir Edward Grey has made an important speech. He still relies on the Belgian Parliament—which has little power and less inclination to strike at the monstrous iniquity of the Royal exploitation, and from which therefore, as Mr. Brailsford showed in these columns, little is to be expected—but in the event of failure in that quarter he hints vaguely at an International Conference and some form of joint interference.

The small majority obtained by Mr. Hughes in New York, in spite of the President's dramatic intervention, is regarded almost as a victory for his opponent ; and there are those who say that if Tammany had chosen, Mr. Hearst would have been elected. On the face of it such a result is not very creditable to the electorate. Mr. Hearst, whether or no his political attitude be sincere, is not credited, even by his friends, with any degree of scrupulosity as to means. He is the chief representative of that peculiarly odious type of journalism, known in America as the "Yellow Press," which is ready at any moment to support any iniquity and precipitate any catastrophe if by so doing it can increase its circulation and momentary influence. It is commonly said that the Yellow Press caused the Spanish War by disseminating cunning and deliberate misrepresentations of the facts ; and Mr. Hearst has been publicly accused by the Head of the American nation of provoking the assassination of McKinley. Yet this man, thus branded, has only not been elected to a post which is understood to be the stepping-stone to the Presidency ; and henceforth must count as one of the main forces in American politics. How is this to be explained ?

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Much, no doubt, is due to the character and power of political organisations in the State, by which a small group of professional politicians are enabled to determine what professes to be the expression of the will of the electorate. But there is more in it than that. Mr. Hearst stands, whether sincerely or no, for that opposition to organised wealth which is beginning to be a dominant factor in American politics. Many reformers must have voted for the cause and swallowed the candidate. This is a course that is intelligible, but none the less reprehensible. The decency and purity of politics is more important than the triumph of any cause. And if Mr. Hearst be the kind of man he is represented to be, reformers would have done better for their country if they had voted for Mr. Hughes and Trusts, rather than throw open to such a type as this the way to the highest magistracy in the State.

Readers of this Review have been frequently reminded of the intimate and indeed vital dependence of social progress upon a democratic budget. The nation is still suffering severely from dear money and deficient demand in its trade as a result of the enormous debts and extravagant armaments accumulated by ten years of misgovernment. In those years unproductive expenditure and unjust taxation were the financial accompaniments of each successive stage in the political and moral deterioration of the nation. The present commercial boom, though it testifies to the splendid powers of recovery inherent in a Free Trade system, has not yet restored our working classes to the prosperity they enjoyed before the Boer war. Pauperism, vagrancy and unemployment are still rife, and these evils must be seriously combated. We are glad that the Government is preparing to return to a more rational scale of naval expenditure; but there is some anxiety as to the military estimates, on which Liberals and Labour men, while recognising that reduction must be limited by a clear and consistent policy of defence, hold that the limit is still far distant, and will rightly insist on large economies. Great sums must be released for the

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reduction of taxes on consumption, for the diminution of debt, the restoration of credit and the service of social reforms ; and it is noteworthy that the Prime Minister and Mr. Asquith have both pronounced definitely in favour of Old Age Pensions on the only possible lines—those of a universal system. Mr. Asquith may also be expected to set to work upon the tremendous tasks of overhauling the relations between local and imperial taxation, of improving the graduation of the death duties and of applying that principle to the income tax, of imposing rates or taxes upon land, proportionate to its real value, both in town and country, of making an equitable revision in the scale of licence duties, and of causing motor-cars to pay adequate sums to the repair and maintenance of the roads which they so rapidly destroy and so frequently render intolerable to the public.

The report on the immorality in the Chinese compounds, of which the general effect only has been divulged to the public, amply justifies the worst that **Chinese Labour** has been said by the opponents of that disastrous experiment. Their apprehensions and charges were dismissed as moonshine by its friends, whose worship of "economic necessity" was undisturbed by a consciousness of any other necessity, domestic, social, political or moral. Mr. R. C. Lehmann deserves the thanks of honest men for the courage and determination with which he presented this odious subject to the House of Commons.

The strength of Toryism is so bound up with the interests of property that it sees in the abolition of the property vote a very serious electoral injury. **The Plural Voter** The measure is bitterly resented, and the Lords will risk a good deal to defeat it. The most interesting of the discussions which it aroused was that on University representation. No harm whatever would be done if University representation came to an end.

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It has sometimes brought into the House of Commons a type of man who would not otherwise have entered it, and whose presence has been valuable. But this is rare. Sir Edward Carson and Mr. Rawlinson, K.C., are politicians of a type that is well able to hold its own in the rough and tumble of an ordinary election. As long as the system continues, it is far better that the voting for University members should be confined, as the Plural Voting Bill will in practice confine it, to the resident members of the University concerned.

If the Labour party, or any one else, thinks that the principles of Socialism are making rapid progress among the masses of the people, or that any of the parties of reform

**The Progressive
Defeat in London** can afford to stand alone and neglect co-operation, they will receive a very rude shock from the Progressive debacle at the London Borough Council elections. Apathy about public affairs, and division into factions on personal grounds, are only too familiar as features of London public life; but these existed at previous elections and yet the Progressives were not swept from the board. The main cause of the defeat was undoubtedly the dread of Socialism, this being identified, and justly identified, with high rates. The preponderating mass of humble, middle-class people, and great numbers of artisans, have become more and more addicted in recent years, as those who move among them know, to pouring abuse and ridicule on the spending of money by public bodies. The habit is due partly to ignorance of the facts, partly to the failure of those, whose policy involves heavy expenditure, to lay stress on the need of strict oversight in administration. The Poplar scandal, which, from the personalities involved in it, formed exceptionally good "copy" for the evening press, fed the fire of indignation. The event shows how fully this Review was justified in saying at the time that that scandal would seriously damage the very cause which Mr. Crooks and Mr. Lansbury were trying to promote. On the top of all came an exceptionally clever and energetic picture-poster campaign. The Moderates

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changed their name to "Municipal Reformers," and, taking advantage of the wave at its height, gained a brilliant success. The funds which enabled them to do so were gained by a vigorous appeal to property to rally in the defence of its interests before it was too late. We earnestly hope that some revival will take place among the Progressives before the London County Council election next March. The present council, in spite of some serious mistakes, has done wonders for London, and has evoked some faint stirring of the sense of civic responsibility. A Progressive defeat would be a disaster, above all because it would mean the starving of London education.

It is a good thing that temperance reformers should discuss their differences in good time before the liquor question is raised by the Government next session. Mr. J. E. Allen contends below that **Local Veto** has been dropped, and deservedly dropped, from the Liberal programme. We expect a reply. There is no reason why Local Veto should not have a strictly subordinate place in the Temperance programme; the people of a district have a better right to forbid public-houses than the owner of an estate, who now exercises it freely; but to expect Local Veto to solve the liquor evil is to be blind to the facts of the case. The problem is a very human one, and touches working-class life at many points. To reserve all your forces for one sledge-hammer blow, and to propose no reform whatever for the districts and the people who escape your blow, is so obviously inadequate that we cannot believe any Liberal Government will adopt the policy, even if the tactical reasons against it were less overwhelming than they are. The evil must be attacked from many different sides. Variety of experiment must be allowed. We must be constructive as well as destructive, and we must bring to the help of the enthusiasts all those moderate reformers whose existence to-day is really due to the long, arduous and self-sacrificing campaign of the enthusiasts themselves. This is the line which the Temperance Legislation League

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has taken, and which was emphasised at its great demonstration at the Queen's Hall. We hope that its programme will suggest the main features of the forthcoming Temperance Bill.

Something is the matter with the Court Theatre management. They are not sufficiently rude to Mr. St. John Hankin. Young writers have a difficulty in believing that they are not required to write according to model, but are to say in their own way the truth that is in them. Mr. Hankin is no longer young; but he will not take the line that is natural to him. He has been told over and over again that he has the spirit of comedy. He certainly has a freakish humour, which, coupled with his powers of observation, ought, if he used them rightly, to result in true comedy. Instead of that he seems to argue thus:—"My only chance is at the Court. The Court wants realism and Shaw. I will be realistic and I will be brilliant." The result of this is that Mr. Hankin takes off his spectacles (the moral spectacles through which the comedian gazes blandly at life) and deliberately sees things as ordinary people see them. Now the function of comedy is to enable the poor ordinary people to see life as it appears to a delightful and gifted person. Realism is not comedy any more than a photograph of the Lord Mayor is a portrait. Further, Mr. Hankin's epigrams (how fatally easy of accomplishment they are!) do not supply the void left by the suppression of that individual humour of his. Mr. Barker and Mr. Vedrenne are prayed to be rude to Mr. Hankin, and Mr. Hankin is prayed to be rude to Messrs. Barker and Vedrenne. A quarrel may clear the air so as to release humour and muzzle realism, which seems so nearly to be gaining the ascendancy over the presiding intelligence of the Court Theatre.

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IT is comforting to know that if the hour of conflict with the House of Lords has come, the battle can hardly be fought on ground more favourable to the representative power. On nearly every issue, moral and material, the authority of the House of Commons, long depressed and diminished, stands at its highest. The Parliament is new. The "ultimate authority in the English Constitution," says Bagehot, "is a newly elected House of Commons. . . . A new House of Commons can despotically and finally resolve." It may "assent in minor matters to the revision of the House of Lords, and submit, in matters about which it cares little, to the suspensive veto of the House of Lords. But when sure of the popular assent and freshly elected it is absolute. It can rule as it likes and decide as it likes."

It is indeed clear that if some such supreme manifestation of the national will as Bagehot describes does not now reside in the House of Commons, newly refreshed by contact with the people, the fabric of the Constitution lies in the dust. All our authorities agree that public opinion, expressed through a general election, regulates the threefold power of the King, the Lords, and the Commons. That is our normal constitutional theory. On it rests all our machinery of government—the Party system, the identification of Ministers with the House of Commons, and the power of that Assembly to dismiss the Executive by a single vote. At this moment the connection between the people and the newly elected Assembly representing it is most intimate. The popular mind has not been expressed

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with equal emphasis for more than 100 years in English politics. Its general feeling and temper, even on specific points of policy, have been thoroughly canvassed. Yet so extreme is the paradox of our Constitutional life that within nine months of the General Election the leader of the weakest Tory Party known to modern England is able to pose as an authoritative adviser, recommending one first-class Ministerial measure to the favourable consideration of the House of Lords, and reserving a second such Bill for its condemnation. And this attitude is not pure assumption. Of the five contentious Bills to be submitted to it before the year is closed—the Education Bill, the Trade Disputes Bill, the Plural Voting Bill, the Land Tenure Bill, and the Workmen's Compensation Bill—only one is safe from serious maltreatment. One has already undergone a complete change of principle and machinery, and another, which concerns an alteration in the electorate of the House of Commons, will almost certainly be rejected on the second reading.

This situation exists, as I have said, in face of a complete revival of the vigour and initiative of the House of Commons. All the so-called "impotence" of the Lower House passed away as soon as a serious impulse to action was communicated to it. Its energy is now enormous, its average capacity is greater than that of any Parliament of recent years, and its representative character is strikingly superior to that of any of its predecessors. Not since the days of the Commonwealth has the "plain russet-coated captain," yes, and the private soldier of industry, been so able to call a Parliament his own. The dominant Party has a minimum majority of nearly 200 votes and a maximum of over 300. No shadow of conflict obscures its relations with the Crown. The Monarch recognises it as cheerfully as the mass of the people.

Turn for a moment to the position of the opposing power. Our Constitutionalists, who delight in unmeaning phrases, are content for the most part to describe it as a "revising" body possessing a "temporary" or "suspensory" veto on the work of the House of Commons. But this is not the real character of the House of Lords. It exercised

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no such function during the last decade of Tory rule. Two measures of Mr. Balfour's Administration—the Education Act and the Licensing Act—are now admitted to have been in excess of the national judgment, as they had no relation to any issue presented to the electors in 1900. But the work of the House of Lords was to emphasise, not to correct, this want of harmony. Why? Because the House of Lords is not an Assembly of Moderates but an ultra-conservative wing of the Tory Party.

This characteristic is clearly permanent, for the General Election and even the Free Trade Controversy have left it practically unchanged. The position of the Government in the two Houses is absolutely reversed. Out of about 580 Peers it possesses a following of a little over 50. Forty-one Peers voted in favour of the Home Rule Bill in 1893; 37 against the second reading of the Education Bill of 1902. The minorities in the debates on the present Education Bill hardly ever exceeded 50 and have more frequently ranged between 30 and 40. The bulk of the immense majority is composed of the non-attending Peers, who remain unacquainted with serious politics and uninterested in them, but are also a reliable mass of silent voters for any destructive amendments to Liberal Bills which their leaders commend to them. Son succeeds father, nephew uncle; but as a voting body the House can never change its Conservative hue, and any conceivable development of democracy must deepen the tints.

But the absolute immobility of the Lords is not the only reason for the breakdown of the conventional theory that they act as a revising and consultative body. Their constitution unfits them to deal with modern questions. Take the subject matter of the Bills now or lately before the House of Commons. They touch workmen's questions, questions concerning the rights of Nonconformists, questions concerning the share of tenant farmers in determining matters of tillage or in securing compensation for their improvements. All these matters were exhaustively discussed at the General Election which was no vulgar *plébiscite*, like the stolen victory of 1900, but the fruit of a long, steady, and thoughtful controversy on social and economic problems. How

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are the Lords equipped for dealing with them? Take Education. The House includes a few authorities on Local Government as well as a limited number of statesmen of experience like Lord Goschen, whose natural conservatism has chilled and hardened with age, and who belongs to the type of "doubting, critical, fastidious partisan"¹ peculiar to the ablest members of the Upper Chamber. But it does not contain one Nonconformist, divine or layman, to balance the crowded Bench of Bishops, rarely counting less than a score votes, or one representative of the teachers. Workmen's Bills will presently be before it. Not a single representative of Trade Unionism or of manual labour will be present to argue the case for the Trade Disputes Bill, the Compensation Bill, and the Merchant Shipping Bill. Finally no tenant farmer will be able to support the very limited plea for tenant right presented by Mr. Robartes's Bill. In a word, the House of Lords is all landlord, all capitalist, all Church of England, and all, I imagine, Plural Voter. No modern country presents any analogy to it. In no civilised State but our own—European or extra-European, within the British Empire or without it—does a legislative body exist at once unrepresentative, completely opposed to democracy, and, under a two Party System, absolutely dominated by one political combination.

Such an Assembly can only act as poison in the veins of a democratic State. If its action can be said to produce any continuous political result, it is to favour extreme Conservatism on the one side and a revolutionary Party on the other. As for Liberalism, in loose alliance with more advanced forms of democracy, the House of Lords is not only opposed to it but incompatible with it. Take the existing situation. The power of the closure does undoubtedly tend to weaken the case for a single Chamber. The fact that clauses of a Bill may be undiscussed in the Commons, and therefore may represent the unchecked will of the Executive, seems to suggest the need for a revising hand. If therefore the Lords, devoid as they are of any mandate from anybody to do anything, had confined themselves on the Education Bill to erasing

¹ May's *Constitutional History*, vol. I, p. 306.

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marks of haste or clumsiness, their action would not have been without excuse. But this was not their line. They were not, indeed, capable of taking it, for the reason that the lawlessness of their own procedure, the absence of a strong leader, and the presence of a great mass of uninstructed opinion, prevented them from acting as a small, compact, well-informed body of men with Parliamentary and legal experience might be disposed to act. No doubt, the House of Lords does always correspond to a large mass of timid, irresolute opinion outside. It speaks for property, for interests, always powerful in a rich country, even when the passion for reform is at its height. But it speaks badly and incoherently, and through the mouth of men undistinguished save by birth. The House of Lords is essentially a mob. Or, to be more precise, it is nineteen-twentieths mob and one-twentieth statesmanship. The statesmen attend a score or so sittings in the Parliamentary year; the mob attends whenever it is called in to work the destruction or the enfeeblement of a Liberal Government. Therefore when the House of Lords dealt with a problem of the complexity of the Education Bill, it could only act in one way—the way of crude destruction. Pretending to read it a second time, the Lords tore it to pieces in Committee, and substituted for it a measure of opposite intention and significance. They replaced a Bill taking over selected classes of voluntary schools by a Bill taking over nearly all voluntary schools, a Bill excluding denominationalism from public schools by a Bill admitting it, a Bill setting up non-sectarian teaching as the normal rule, with exceptions, by a Bill establishing sectarian teaching, with exceptions. Not one relationship of authorities established by the Bill has thus far (Nov. 20) been unaffected. The power of the local authority, the power of the parents, the power of the Board of Education, have all been vitally changed.

The Lords have thus exceeded the specific constitutional limits assigned to them. Their amendments to Clause II. add to public charges, and, indeed, the entire basis of their criticism of the Bill is to compel the local authorities to take on a heavier financial burden than the House of Commons imposed. Their attitude, therefore, is doubly unconstitutional.

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The House of Lords has no power of imposing rates or taxes. It has sought to impose them. It has no right, according to accepted Constitutional dicta, to reverse the meaning of a first-class measure which the Government, hot from an election, placed first on its list of pledges to be redeemed. The new House of Commons has only one retort to such a challenge, and that is to disregard it. It cannot for a moment admit the right of the Lords either to call for a second General Election, or to allow them to revise, in a sense hostile to Liberalism, the settlements of 1870 and 1902, as well as the great scheme of 1906. The contemptible quality of their intellectual work on the Bill, and the fact that time after time their procedure broke down through inexperience of the commonest forms of Parliamentary methods in Committee add to the overwhelming constitutional reasons for sweeping their amendments away.

Nor can any weight attach to the mere dictum of members of the Upper House that on points of detail—such as the right of the ex-voluntary teachers to give special religious instruction—its mind is closer to that of the electorate than the Government or the Bill. It is impossible to weigh the comparative opportunities of the two Houses for ascertaining and interpreting the popular will and to come to a conclusion favourable to the Lords. Moreover, the Commons have been defied in a case in which, as all men know, the Crown raises no objection to the policy of the Government, so that the two strongest powers in the Constitution, and those the most popular, are opposed by the weakest and the least popular. When such a condition arose, said Lord Grey, the House of Lords became “a separate oligarchy,” ruling absolutely the two other governing elements of the State. Probably it has no such deliberate purpose. Its action is almost automatic, and proceeds from its desire to make government by the Liberal Party, or by any Party of the Left, either impossible, or so weak in effect, as to produce in the mind of the country the feeling that if any form of progress is desired, it must be attained through the Conservatives, by virtue of tacit compacts with the directors of opinion in the Lords. Its existence, therefore, is a standing challenge to Liberalism. One force or the other must go

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down. The struggle is literally one of life or death, for a Liberal Government feels the enfeebling influence of the Lords from the first hour of its existence to the last. Either it must always be referring back its Bills to the electorate, or it must pare them down in advance to suit the conservative bias of the peers, or sending them to the Upper Chamber as Radical measures, it must submit to their re-appearance as feeble compromises. Therefore, when it seeks its constituents, it must needs have a shame-faced air. It must apologise for half-measures, thus estranging its advanced wing, or confess to defeat, and bend to the weight of prejudice that rests on a beaten side. Its only resource is to thrust aside the whole entanglement, and raise the revolutionary issue of the existence of the House of Lords.

To what powers can it look for aid? It can look to three—to the Crown, the House of Commons, and the people. There are Liberals and Radicals who leave the first element out of account. I do not agree with them. The Crown has very good reason to be satisfied with the system of party Government. It eliminates some questions of principle from practical politics. It preserves the personal popularity of the Monarch. It gives him friends on both sides of the House, so long as he is statesman enough to let democracy grow and to be content. Why should he consent to the break-down of this system, with all the consequences to the Crown that such a failure might involve? Why should he see the Liberal Government go to the country, after a sequence of rebuffs in the Lords, firmly resolved to fight an uncompromising constitutional battle, and to make it the paramount issue in English politics? The King would naturally be inclined to act in the crisis. He would first act by advice, by personal pressure. If that fails, what further course could reasonably be proposed to him? Not what Bagehot calls "catastrophic" creations of hereditary peers. The instinct of the people would revolt against such a fortification of a principle alien to all modern government.

There remains the far safer expedient of a creation of life peers. There is much to recommend it, for it cuts at the root of the evil, whose existence must first be submitted

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to the people, namely the hereditary right of legislation. It would be the condition and the governing principle of an attempt to change the character of the House of Lords and turn it from a Tory sect into a small, competent committee of experts, representing the interests both of labour and of capital, and widely and fairly recruited from the world of work and reality, instead of from the sweepings of country houses and pleasure resorts.

But the question at once occurs—at what stage of the now inevitable and fast approaching constitutional conflict could such a device be brought to bear? Clearly at the stage when the Lords rejected a Bill for their own reformation, following an election expressly conducted on that question and on that alone. Here, then, we arrive at a conception of the true order of a struggle which the Ministry will not be able to postpone till the closing years of its natural term of office. On the Education Bill no dissolution can take place supposing that all attempts to come to an agreement fail. The Ministry would certainly emerge triumphant from it. But they could not admit the right of the Lords to disturb the whole machinery of the constitution ten months after the most decisive general election in our history. Neither, on the other hand, could they repeat the policy of 1893, the fatal policy of ploughing the sands. If it is unwise to force a birth of time, it is madness to try and stay it when it is due.

The Government therefore must inevitably begin to look forward to the path which destiny points. There is nothing disorderly, or impatient, or presumptuous, in such forethought. It represents the normal development of Liberalism and Radicalism, the next step in English democracy. The conflict with the Lords was Gladstone's final legacy to his party, and Lord Rosebery, with a proper sense of his responsibility, accepted it, and made or attempted to make it the issue of the ensuing general election.

Two conditions would seem to be vital. The first is that the battle should be opened when the Liberal forces were still fresh, and the memory and inspiration of the great election remained. The second is the defeat of a measure of reform on which the hearts of the country are set. If

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this measure be a Land Bill, it would seem wise to present it next Session, so as to usher in the controversy in the most dramatic manner, and assure the country that between a democratic, modern Government and a House representing in the main hereditary land-owning a quarrel had arisen that must be definitely settled. At the same time the electorate would be assured that out of a successful appeal to the country would come the issue of the existence of the Lords, and the presentation of a Bill first for the limitation of the veto and secondly for the reconstitution of the Lords.

Here, then, we should have passed the threshold of the only constitutional change which guarantees the persistence of the Party system. If it is thought wise to preserve that system, some such course must receive the assent of the Monarch : and the creation of a great body of life peers by the Crown would seem to be an inevitable weapon at the second stage of the campaign. The limitation of the veto is the necessary condition of the assent of the Radical and Labour Parties to a re-making of the House of Lords. What form it ought to take is a question of great significance. It is doubtful whether it is possible to apply the instrument of conservative reform known as the Referendum to so large and so poorly educated a democracy as this country presents. The alternative is the formal turning of the absolute veto into a suspensory, a delaying, instrument. This is its nominal character to-day. A regular constitutional change would in this respect merely emphasise average conventional theory, and reconcile it with fact. Time is passing ; the character of parties is changing. The condition and the claims of the House of Lords are the weak point of the Constitution ; the revival of the reforming spirit reveals the strain. The power of the Commons will remain ; that of the Monarchy is not threatened ; the two elements act harmoniously together, for the nature of their relationship is part of the blood and bone of the body politic. But the third element cannot act with Liberalism or with democracy. It is time either to reduce it to its proper proportions or to eliminate it altogether.

H. W. MASSINGHAM

LABOUR'S IDEAL

THE Labour Party was discovered at the last General Election. More recently, the belated discovery has been made that this Labour Party is in some way identified with Socialism.

A Socialism which was confined to street-corner and market-place agitation was disregarded by the comfortable classes. But when great industrial centres begin to return these working-class agitators to Parliament, then the matter begins to assume a serious aspect to the minds of the propertied classes. It is very important at this time that the aims of the Labour Party should be generally understood, and a statement of Socialism as advocated by that party put forward. I propose to make the attempt to do this, in the hope that it may be the means of making the position of British Socialists clear to such as desire to know what is the significance and object of this movement.

There is, undoubtedly, a growing feeling, by no means confined to the wage-earning classes, of dissatisfaction with existing social conditions. Many men who have an abundance of worldly possessions, who have been successful in life in the conventional sense, are not quite comfortable when they are forced to contemplate the terrible mass of poverty by which they are surrounded. Observant minds and sympathetic natures are being compelled to ask themselves whether it is just that the great body of the people should be subject to industrial and social conditions so arduous and so oppressive, while the few possess means far beyond all the requirements of reasonable and cultured life. The idea is gaining wider acceptance among the rich that it is not right to enjoy luxury obtained at the price of the poverty, material

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and intellectual, of their fellow beings. The state of things social, after such a century of aggregate material advancement, is compelling individual self examination, and demanding an answer to the question whether material progress is desirable if it brings not comfort and blessing to all ; whether it is not possible in some way to utilise mechanical and scientific knowledge applied to wealth production so that it may lighten labour, increase leisure, and liberate human activities for some better work than the making of millionaires and paupers.

This humanitarian spirit is the real dynamic of the Labour and Socialist movement. But the spirit of social unrest is by no means confined to the avowedly socialistic organisations. The number of associations having for their object some special social reform is legion. Nearly every religious body has now its league of social service. As I write a communication comes to me from a Bishop announcing that a committee of the Canterbury Convocation is commissioned to obtain information and prepare a report upon how best to bring the moral principles of Christianity to bear upon certain social problems, and, amongst others, the accumulation and distribution of wealth.

Where the Labour and Socialist party differs from these social reform organisations is in the fact that the Socialists regard the industrial and social evils which these other societies deplore, not as separate and independent problems, but as results due to a common cause, and that cause an economic one, namely, the private ownership of land, and of capital required for further wealth production.

The bald statement that Socialists aim at the abolition of private ownership in land and the instruments of production, naturally lends itself to misunderstanding, and quite as naturally arouses uncomfortable fears of revolution and expropriation in the minds of the timid and uninformed. With so much outside discontent, and with so much existing desire to do something to make the lot of the masses better, the Socialists have abundant opportunity to gain support by an intelligent and reasonable statement of their case.

The identification of the Labour Party with Socialism is justified, though the Labour Party does not cover its

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programme with the name of Socialism. But the programme of the Trades Union Congress is practically identical with the programme of the Independent Labour Party—the principal Socialist body in this country. Both programmes put forward demands for the socialisation of the land, the mines, the railways; full and free education at the cost of the State; the municipal ownership and management of local services; the State organisation of productive work so that every willing worker may obtain employment; the State obligation to support the aged and infirm. Though the individuals who compose the Labour Party are in different stages of consciousness as regards Socialism, there is practically complete unanimity as to the programme just mentioned.

The Labour Party in so far as applies to the working-class members of it—who of course constitute the vast majority—is really a development out of trade unionism and other working-class voluntary associations. The purpose of trade unionism has been to secure “a fair day’s wage for a fair day’s work.” But enormous as have been the advantages of trade unionism to the workers, the fact stares them in the face that voluntary trade unionism has not succeeded in obtaining improvements in the worker’s wages and conditions corresponding to the increase of wealth production, and that before such problems as unemployment, sweating, and labour-displacing inventions, trade unionism stands baffled and helpless.

The Co-operative movement and the Friendly Societies have also contributed to the formation of that working-class opinion which is now looking to politics to finish the work they set out to accomplish. The success of the Co-operative movement in the sphere of distribution has been great, but, on the productive side, though there is some progress, scarcely an impression has been made upon the monopoly of private capitalism as the employer of labour.

In spite of all that the Friendly Societies have done to help the workmen, who have utilised these societies, to make provision for sickness and old age, these problems still are with us in all their magnitude. Trade Unionism, Co-operation, Friendly Societies have mitigated to some extent the condition of the wage earners, but none of these efforts

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has solved a single problem or abolished a single evil at which their energies have aimed.

But the work of building up these working-class societies has developed intelligence, self-reliance, and business capacity among the workers. Sixty years' intimate and practical acquaintance with the conditions of working-class life and sixty years' experience of the character of the working-class problem, and of success and failure in treating it, have given to this portion of the working class a knowledge of these industrial and social questions which no books could give and which is far more valuable than any academic schooling.

To these influences responsible for the political Labour movement must be added the influence of thirty years of popular education, and the consequent and concurrent increase in the media for the spread of knowledge and information. The present generation of workers has had the benefit of an education which former generations were denied. Ignorance and contentment go hand in hand. But the workers are now getting at least enough education to open their eyes to see their position. They have been permitted to peep through the gates of the intellectual Eden, but cannot pass through and partake of the fulness of its joys, because "the gate is barred with gold and opens but to golden keys." These workers realise that the education question is an economic question; that it is their poverty which has deprived them of the education which the rich can command; that it is their poverty which prevents them from giving to their children the means of full mental development.

The Labour and Socialist movement among the workers is the outcome of these influences. It is therefore not the child of ignorance and envy, but the creature of a reasonable and righteous discontent; the just ambition to share in "things that are more excellent." With this discontent and this ambition there goes that essential experience and knowledge which is the guarantee that the desired changes will be brought about on the lines of ordered progress.

Though this movement is, at present, so far as it is organised, mainly confined to the working class, it is by no means limited to that class either in its outlook or scope.

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Two facts give to the superficial observer the impression that the Labour movement is a class movement having for its purpose the clear division of the workers from the middle and upper classes, and the waging of a relentless class war. The first of these facts is the one already dealt with, that the workers have organised politically for reform purposes ; and the second is that it is the condition of the wage earners, and reforms calculated to benefit them, which form the chief substance of the advocacy and demands of the Labour and Socialist party.

The reasons for the first of these two facts I have already explained. As to the second, it is undoubtedly true that the reforms advocated by the Labour Party are such as would benefit the workers most in a material sense. But surely the purpose of all social reform should be to improve the lot of the poorest, to work upwards from the bottom. It by no means necessarily follows however that the improvement of a class below can only be effected at the expense of those above. Indeed it would be difficult to suggest any one reform which raised the standard of life among the workers which did not have an indirect influence in benefiting society as a whole. If society be an organism, if we are all members of one body, then the health of each member is a matter of concern to all, and every improvement in the condition of one member must benefit the whole body. The reforms advocated by the Labour Party, which might be called class reforms, are each and all demands which, if obtained, would give to the workers no more than the other classes now enjoy. The means at the command of the well-to-do enable them to provide for themselves education, good housing, sanitation, good food, which the wages of the masses cannot now command. The Labour Party are seeking nothing for themselves as a class. Every reform conceded by legislation will be open equally for enjoyment by all. If certain sections do not require the State to interfere by legislation to enable them to have the means of a healthy and cultured existence it is because the State has already enabled them, under the protection of its laws, to gratify these desires.

The Labour movement is not a class movement except

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that it is at present a movement mainly of the workers, and that its programme aims principally, but not at all exclusively, at improving the condition of the workers. But in reality the Labour Party represents ideas and a policy in regard to social economy and morality, and it claims that its proposals, based on these ideas, are calculated to benefit society as a whole.

If, therefore, there can be added to the humanitarian sympathy for the workers which exists among the other classes an understanding of their own economic condition, and if they can be led to see that their own interests are bound up in the general welfare, and that the policy and object of the Socialist Labour Party are likely to secure the largest measure of social, and therefore individual, good, a great force of numbers and influence would be added to the Socialist Labour movement.

Let me therefore try to put the social problem as it appears to the new party. From such a statement each individual may judge for himself how far his true self-interest will be served by the triumph of the Labour Party's proposals for treating this problem.

Modern industrial developments have brought about the need, and constitute the justice, of the demand for the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. The utilisation of steam and electric power, and mechanical inventions, have placed beyond the reach of the individual worker the possibility of his owning the tools or instruments of his trade. Before what is called the Industrial Revolution, such a thing was possible, and did actually exist. The hand-loom weaver, the hand spinner, the shoemaker, the carrier, owned his loom, his wheel, his last, his cart. But if the economy of cost of production, which the use of machinery and large masses of capital make possible, is to be secured, then the constant tendency will be for units of capital to become larger, and in consequence the ownership and control of the means of production must pass more and more into fewer hands with the result of increasing the number of individuals compelled to seek employment as wage-servants of great capitalistic combinations.

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The present separation of society into two classes—one owning the means by which labour can be employed, and the other without capital, compelled to beg for the opportunity to use the land and machinery owned by the other class, is the inevitable product of mechanical progress left undirected in the common interest. Great mechanical discoveries which change the methods of producing wealth invariably affect the relation of labour to capital. A revolution in such methods, such as that begun about the end of the eighteenth century, required a moral revolution to place society in a right relation to these industrial changes. That moral revolution, or in other words the harmonising of moral and economic conditions, the Socialist Labour movement is seeking to effect.

There must be harmony between capital and labour, or most certainly the disastrous results which always come to the one or the other, or both, from a conflict of interests will follow. The admitted evils, unemployment, insufficient wages, all that is comprehended in the term poverty in its widest sense, arise from that conflict of interest between capital and labour.

The capitalist system—using the term to express the system of production which followed the industrial revolution—transformed the character of the workman. It changed him from a combination of capitalist and workman in himself, and from an individual or isolated workman, into a dependent wage worker and into a unit in a co-operation of workers. Roughly speaking, before these changes, production was an individual matter for individual needs. These changes made production a co-operative work for social use. But while economic forces compelled the work of production to be co-operative, the instruments used remained under individual ownership and direction, competition being the agency determining which particular individuals should have the ownership and control.

The whole tendency of industrial legislation during the capitalistic era has been towards the harmonising of the conflicting interests described, or to mitigate the evils resulting from this conflict. But no regulation, however stringent, can remove the cause. The municipal history of

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the nineteenth century is a long record of the failure of regulation to protect public welfare against private interests. Compelled by experience, the public in a thousand cases have superseded private ownership, and the public regulation of private ownership, by complete public ownership and management. In a century's experience of unregulated capitalism, regulated capitalism, and public ownership successively, we have the practical demonstration of the truth of the collectivist theory.

The causes which have operated to bring about the public ownership of common services will continue to influence public policy in the same direction. As I have already pointed out economic forces are working with accumulating strength to widen the area of oppressive subjection to capitalism. The evils of competition and of private monopoly, which have pressed so heavily on the wage earners, are affecting the middle and upper classes to a greater extent every year. The shopkeeper, the small business man, the professional man, find the struggle for existence becoming keener every day. The growth of the multiple-shop system is crushing the one-shop man out of existence. In every manufacturing trade the field is being monopolised by limited liability concerns, ultimately developing into the Trust. In every profession—law, art, medicine, teaching—the market is overcrowded. Men and women who have received an expensive education and training find no market for their abilities, and thousands of them would jump at the offer of any work which would promise freedom from the killing anxiety about the future. Parents of the middle class are harassed by the worry of what to do with their children; by the ever present fear of disaster to themselves from the failure of their precarious income through no fault of their own. Indeed, all the indescribable terrors of the workman's existence are coming more and more into the lives of the classes above.

The very things which it has, in the past, been urged Socialism would do, capitalism is rapidly bringing about. The destruction of individuality, the limitation of opportunities for individual advancement, the subjection of the community to an iron despotism, the impossibility of

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acquiring private property—all these things are clearly coming to pass.

The most painful thing about the condition of the masses to-day is the almost entire absence of individuality. This state is due to the character and conditions of their work, and the lack of educational opportunities. When men have to depend upon the willingness or caprice of another for the opportunity to work, their liberty is in reality as much enslaved as though their bodies were bound in chains. The average workman has no chance to exercise intelligence, or ingenuity, or the creative faculty in his work. He is generally a mere machine minder, or the performer of a laborious task in which the mental activities are scarcely required. "Strong in the arm and weak in the head" has passed into a proverb as the qualification for an acceptable workman. Workmen are spoken of as "hands," by which we admit the true function of the present day workman. Just as the factory or business increases in size, so will the number of men increase whose mechanical work is directed by one brain.

But this state of things is not confined to the working class only. There is no more opportunity of expressing individuality for the middle classes. The grocer, the chemist, the shoeman, indeed nearly all tradesmen, are now mainly the distributors of proprietary or standard articles for the buying of which no special knowledge is needed, and for the selling of which the only qualification is a subservient politeness. There is probably no class in the community who are so little free to follow their own ways and to express their own opinions as the tradesman class.

No system could possibly offer less opportunity for the development and display of individuality than the state of things which exists to-day. We may get some idea of what we lose from the neglect to provide the opportunities for each individual following the bent of his own genius by contemplating the mechanical and inartistic character of the peoples' homes, and our streets, and public buildings, and public ways. For a century or more, under the influence of the Gradgrind philosophy of the Manchester School, the most worthy aim of individual effort has been

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considered to be to accumulate as much material wealth as possible, and success in life, nay indeed the fulness of life, has been measured by that standard. But the ghastly failure to gain even this sordid end is turning men's thought to a more excellent aim for human effort.

It is doubtful, however, if the desire to accumulate wealth merely for the gratification of possessing it has ever been the real motive actuating men. Men have sought riches for what riches would command—social position, the respect of others, security from want. The present system makes it increasingly impossible for all but a very few to succeed in securing these desirable things by the means of wealth. A system, therefore, which would ensure that intellectual worth would gain social position and respect, which would ensure security against want as the return for social labour, would provide for every individual all the things which all our commercial competition has for its real object.

The accumulation of private property to the extent of giving the individual the power to satisfy his desires is, owing to the economic causes described, becoming increasingly difficult. If therefore satisfaction is to be obtained, other ways will have to be found, and the way clearly indicated by experience and tendency is to supply collectively what private property has formerly furnished. Innumerable illustrations might be supplied of how this is being done to-day. Our education system, our free libraries, our parks, our tramways bring these services to those whose private property will not enable them to acquire these advantages specially for themselves. More and more, from necessity and from the obvious economies of the method, individual needs will be supplied collectively, and thus the uses and necessity of private property will be reduced.

I have endeavoured to state in a very cursory way some of the grounds upon which the Socialist Party base the case for Socialism and their hopes of a growing acceptance of these principles among all sections of society. The few who may continue to grow rich at the expense of the many can scarcely be expected from economic reasons to give their support to this movement. But powerful as have

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been economic forces in shaping all the great social transformations of the past, economic forces have never been the sole influence in working such changes. Moral forces have often overcome the economic interests of individuals, and in this next great revolution we have reason to hope that many who profit under the present system will prefer the richer satisfaction which comes from helping others and contemplating the general good, to a selfish indulgence purchased at the cost of wholesale human degradation.

But it is not upon the numbers of such wealthy altruists that the future of the social movement will depend, but rather upon the social consciousness, helped by economic pressure, of the great democratic vote. There can be no work for a political democracy but the task of making a social democracy. So long as the people are not economically free, political freedom is a mere delusion. The ideal to which the Socialist looks is a democratic state, wherein an educated and healthy people shall have full control over all the means by which the full stature of manhood and womanhood can be attained.

The political party which is going to make the realisation of that ideal its conscious work is in the making. Recent public utterances of Liberal ministers show how wide is the difference of opinion upon Collectivist proposals among men who for the present are political associates. It will be so until Socialist opinion is more definitely formed. But that opinion is rapidly forming among men of all parties, and it must by and by cause the re-formation of political parties on definite lines for definite work. When the sifting process is completed the Reform Party, by whatever name it may be known, will be Collectivist in theory and in aim, and will, like John Stuart Mill, "agree with the Socialists in their conception of the form which industrial operations tend to assume in the advance of improvement, and will entirely share their opinion that the time is ripe for commencing such transformation, and that it should by all just and effectual means be aided and encouraged."

PHILIP SNOWDEN

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PERHAPS the most hopeful sign of our time is the revival in real, as distinct from party, politics as practical forces. In days of public apathy politicians rule the land. It is they who decide what matters shall be the subject of debate inside and out of Parliament, what measures shall be brought forward, which be most readily sacrificed in the annual "massacre of the innocents," and which shall be passed into law. In days, however, when democracy is warm with life, it is politics and not politicians that matter. Under such circumstances, the mere party man is apt to find himself at sea ; for then his schemes can only be successful when they happen to accord with the will of an electric and living democracy. To the thoughts of a great people the mere politician, however clever, does not possess the key. That can only be found by the statesman, and the statesman differs from the politician in as much as he possesses heart as well as head. However grateful, therefore, the new revival of real politics may be to the ardent reformer, it is fraught with considerable peril to many able party organisers accustomed to the indifferent atmosphere that pervaded the closing years of the nineteenth century. The changed spirit of the times has already upset many of their calculations ; and if, as I hope and believe, the political revival spreads and continues, will certainly upset many more.

Now as ever, the revival of politics has been characterised by the way in which questions of real, as distinct from merely partisan importance, have come to the front. In particular, it has given, as is generally recognised, new

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life to Labour politics ; and, though this is as yet less generally understood, to the Woman's question. But for the methods of the Women's Social and Political Union, the remarkable development of political interest among women might have been altogether ignored for some time longer, to the ultimate confusion of party wire-pullers at some future general election. But, just as the Labour Party is an effect rather than a cause of the general discontent of organised labour, so the campaign of the suffragists is but a symptom of a wider awakening of which this agitation is a part. Readers of Mr. Wildover Johnson's able article in the November number of this REVIEW on "The Social Revolutionary Party in Russia" will remember the part he assigns to the terrorist wing of that organisation. Their business is to inspire with hope the sleeping discontent of the peasants. By methods of which we may only partially approve, but incomparably less shocking, the Women's Social and Political Union are performing the same service to the women of England. Both organisations are galvanising into action a deep but too passive discontent. Unless party organisers realise what this means, there is a cruel awakening in store for them. It is true that Labour will dominate to a great extent the politics of the future ; it would be no less true to say that the Women's question will do so likewise.

Now I hope nobody who reads this article will consider that I think the question merely one of party tactics. So far is this from being the case, that I am perfectly willing to accord any party dealing adequately with the matter full credit for their achievement. The question at issue is of the last importance, for on its settlement depends whether the civilisation of the future is to be built up on a broadly human, or only on a masculine basis. As politics become more social, more intimately blended with the lives of the people, the existence of a woman's vote at every election becomes increasingly more important. Pending adult suffrage, even a small woman's vote, which candidates were compelled to consider and conciliate, would be of great value in colouring the programmes and politics of the future. If, then, I endeavour to show politicians the tactical importance

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of an immediate concession of Women's Suffrage on the same terms as men's, it is for the sake of the cause, and not of the politicians.

Unless the present Government, during this Parliament, carry a measure enfranchising women on the same terms as men, they must stand condemned as useless friends of democracy. No progressive Government can afford to let slip any fair opportunity of extending the franchise, of making progress towards government of the people by the people. The completion of this programme of political democracy may well be beyond the power of any particular Government ; but, in these days, no Government can reasonably claim to be democratic which does not do all it can in that direction. The test, therefore, that earnest reformers should apply to every Government is that of practicability. If it is fairly within the power of the present Government to pass an Adult Suffrage Bill, and to complete the work of political democracy, then the actively progressive forces in their vast majority should insist upon their doing so before a general election. If, on the other hand, this is impossible, genuine democrats should at least insist on their doing what they can. For their own sakes, ministers should realise that absolute frankness as to their intentions is the best policy. If Radicals and Labour men are convinced that the Government are really doing all that is possible, they will readily excuse them from attempting the impracticable. If, however, ministers were to be content with less, they would be untrue to their cause, and could expect no mercy at the hands of the people.

It will be exceedingly difficult for the Government during the lifetime of the present Parliament to deal adequately with the franchise question as a whole. As usual, Ireland blocks the way. Any adequate and final scheme of reform implies an adequate plan of redistribution. But any redistribution bill that is not a farce must greatly reduce the representation of Ireland, and that, to a Liberal Government, means a Home Rule Bill.

The plain justice of the case demands that the representation of Ireland shall not be reduced without the consent of the majority of the Irish people. It is amazing to me

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that so many fair-minded Unionists do not see this. Opponents of Home Rule must face their dilemma. The Act of Union is a treaty between two nations, and its stipulations as to the representation of the smaller cannot honestly be abrogated without the separate and free consent of both nations. To resist the claims of Ireland is illiberal, but honest; to use a British majority to reduce Ireland's representation without Ireland's consent is national treachery. But the Irish representatives in the House of Commons will certainly never consent to a reduction of their voting strength for any concession short of Home Rule. Equal electoral districts means either Home Rule or the permanent loss of the Irish vote, a just punishment for an act of national perfidy. Now the Government has no mandate for Home Rule. The Premier himself is a Home Ruler, but it is clear that many thousands of Unionist Free Traders voted for the present Government under the distinct understanding that no Home Rule bill would be introduced this Parliament. Short of Home Rule, the Government may do almost anything they like for Ireland; but to carry out Mr. Gladstone's policy they must await a direct mandate and another election. For these reasons I conclude that neither Home Rule, nor, incidentally, Adult Suffrage are possible during the lifetime of the present Parliament. The House of Lords would promptly reject the one, and, unless accompanied by a redistribution bill, the other also; and in all probability the nation would support the Lords. This, it seems to me, even the keenest advocates of both measures ought in fairness to the present Government to recognise; while in justice to the causes they represent, they should insist on everything really possible being done to pave the way for a future triumph.

Now the easiest possible step in the direction of political democracy is the passing of a bill conferring the franchise on women on the same terms as men. Here there are no lions in the path, unless they exist in the minds of timid men on the front bench. A vast majority of the present House of Commons, Liberals, Conservatives, Irish and Labour men, are pledged to this reform; while the whole question lies outside the crucial test in politics—finance. Nor

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are the Lords likely to reject such a measure. A bill for the extension of the franchise is always very difficult to oppose, at least when introduced by a responsible government. If it passes into law, the new electorate will actually vote at the next opportunity; and the most inveterate opponent of reform can hardly like the prospect of explaining to his new constituents his recent hostile votes and speeches. It is all very well being witty at the expense of women when the debate is a mere academic discussion over the second reading of a suffrage bill introduced by a private member; but it is a very different matter when your words may be resented as insults by your future constituents. Under such circumstances, opponents are tempted to fall in with the views of the Government, or at least to be conveniently absent unpaired from crucial divisions. If the official Opposition contest the bill at all, their whips are likely to have a great deal of hard work to very little purpose. Vigorous opposition to a new franchise bill may be magnificent, but it is not politics.

The Opposition, in fact, are hardly likely to attempt any serious resistance. Not only are Conservatives, as such, no more opposed to this reform than Liberals, but the same reasons that are likely to influence the private member will weigh with his leaders. Women interested in the franchise question cannot too strongly represent to Ministers that their only difficulty is that of making up their minds to act. The Opposition leaders are probably wise enough to see the madness of placing their side in a position of avowed hostility to a possible new electorate. To oppose a new franchise bill you must be positively sure of success, or the attempt is political suicide. Even Mr. Chamberlain would probably hesitate to offend the women of Birmingham by prolonged opposition to a proposal he is known to dislike. But if the brains of Toryism are out, and the party does want to commit suicide, there is no particular reason why its opponents should refuse to supply it with a rope. The Government have only to introduce a satisfactory Women's Suffrage measure themselves, or to adopt the short one already introduced by Mr. Keir Hardie, to paralyse opposition in Parliament itself. That they hesitate to do so is not only an

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offence against democratic principles, it is a confession of political incompetence.

From the point of view of its prospects in Parliament, a Woman's Suffrage Bill thus presents fewer difficulties perhaps than any other reform not capable of being dealt with in the Budget; from that of its hold on the constituencies, such a measure gives the party passing it an enormous advantage. To see this we have only to consider the nature of the Woman's Suffrage movement itself. The question has never been a party one, and its advocates are strong on both sides of the House. But there has been a steadily increasing tendency of late years, especially among Liberal women, to subordinate other questions to their own particular one. This is as it should be, for on every conceivable question in which she is interested, a woman who cares for politics quite rightly wants to have a recognised influence; she must have political power before she can use it. During the last election, numbers of women refused to work for any candidate who did not give a satisfactory pledge on the subject; and certainly, if the suffrage is not granted in the meantime, many more will do so during the next. It should be remembered that the many women who now take part at elections are, in the nature of the case, keen politicians, and are virtually all suffragists. A prominent feature of modern elections is the enthusiastic work of women. In part, this is due to the advance of women themselves, to the increasing feminine interest in public life; in part, to party necessities due to the stringent laws governing election expenses. So long as it was possible to pay an army of canvassers, men kept this profitable part of electioneering to themselves; so soon as it became of necessity voluntary work, they eagerly accepted the aid of Women's Liberal Associations or Primrose Dames to do it for nothing. Sooner or later, at the hands of one party or the other, this increasing feminine interest in politics will find direct means of expression, and, to some extent at least, the attitude of the new voters towards general politics will be determined by the relation of the political parties to this particular reform. "Who gave votes to women?" will run the election leaflets of the future; and it probably lies

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with the present Cabinet to decide whether their party or its opponents shall be able to fill in the reply. One party, it is clear, will some day be able to boast that the women voters owe their power to it; the other will have to be content with asserting that it always meant well. If the present Government grant this reform, they will gain an enormous advantage at the next general election. Its women helpers will be enthusiastic, numerous and confident; those of its opponents few, timid and apologetic, haunted by a sense of "blacklegging," which must accompany all those who work against their order or their sex.

It is easy to see what must happen if the opportunity of their great majority is neglected by the Government. It is an easy thing they are asked to do, as we have seen, and with such a majority, no plea of lack of opportunity can avail Ministers and their supporters. I am much mistaken if it will be possible to obtain any Liberal women workers for such a party; I am confident there will be no enthusiastic ones. The independent women's organisations, too, though creations of yesterday, have already shown their power, and it is certain they will do their best, in such a case, to ruin Liberalism. Nor, however careless they may be themselves, are the Tories likely to lose the opportunity Liberal cowardice has thrown in their way. There are more unlikely things than that the next general election may be fought on Woman's Suffrage, with the Conservatives and Labour men both pledged in its favour. If so, the Liberals, fresh from a term of power, during which, with the greatest majority for two generations, they have done nothing, can expect no help from women; and in these days, when women play so great a part in elections, they will, in that case, almost certainly be defeated.

But party tactics of this kind are not the highest form even of tactics. There is a political strategy which aims, not merely at securing a party advantage, but directly at defending the principles for which the party exists. We may have heard the last of serious proposals to tax bread; if not, the present electorate may perhaps be trusted to defend us against them. But the matter is too grave to be left to chances. There is a strong militarist party in England, a

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party by no means disposed to pay for its militarism by any great increase in the Income Tax. Primarily it was the financial position brought about by Mr. Chamberlain's Imperialism that was responsible for Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal heresy. As the spendthrift heir would persuade his father to part with the family plate, so Mr. Chamberlain tried to persuade John Bull to surrender his Free Trade heritage. The arguments of both spendthrifts were equally rational, the occasion equally cogent—debt. This being so, it is of paramount importance that we should enfranchise those who can best be depended on to resist any attempt to tax food—and these are the women. Specialism in politics is now the monopoly of neither sex, but it would be true to say that among the multitude who have made no study of the subject the politics of the woman in the home are more social, more of the centre, than those of the man in the street. This is no assertion of feminine superiority; it is merely the natural consequence of woman's more central experience of life. The mind of the average man is largely influenced by his particular personal or trade interests, by the special place that the complex division of labour gives to him in the processes of production. He is usually a seller either of some particular commodity, or of the labour power required to produce it. It is, therefore, relatively easy for his particular interests to be anti-social, and his politics to be anti-social also. But woman generally functions as the buyer of the household; her primary political ideas are those of the universal buyer, her natural instincts are always on the side of cheapness, particularly in the necessities of life, over which she is engaged in weekly bargains with the butcher and the baker. The proposal of Mr. Chamberlain to compensate the tax-payer for his corn duty by reducing that on tobacco was, in effect, an appeal to represented working men to transfer their taxes to their unrepresented wives. Working men usually keep a weekly sum for pocket money, and turn the rest of their wages over to their wives for household expenses. The proportions of these two funds do not vary with the ordinary fluctuations in the prices of provisions, and there is no reason to suppose they would be altered in most households on account of any

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rise in food stuffs caused by Mr. Chamberlain's proposed duties. Some experience of working women convinces me that none of them favour a tax on bread; whatever their differences on other matters, they are at one in this. I do not expect the advent of women in public life will revolutionise party politics, though it will to some extent render wiser, because less purely masculine, more broadly human, the temper of all parties, Conservative, Liberal, and Labour alike; but of one thing I feel assured—it will render a bread tax utterly impossible.

But, as I said at the outset, it is not for any of these tactical considerations that I advocate the immediate grant of Women's Suffrage. We are witnessing a general revival of politics. Labour has begun to move and to insist on the reconstruction of English civilisation on broader and more humane lines. Politics in the future will be more in touch with life, more concerned with questions of wages, housing, employment, education and a score of other things which affect closely the actual lives of women as well as men. To be deprived of a voice in the building of this new and higher civilisation will be a greater wrong than ever. To him who realises what all this means it matters little what party, relatively little even what cause gain or lose by woman's vote. It is enough for him to remember that the formula of democracy is not Government of the People for the People by the Men, but by the People.

F. J. SHAW

STRAY RELIGIONS IN THE FAR NORTH-WEST

I. DOUKHOBORS

TWO years ago a considerable sensation was created by the news that a certain Russian sect who had settled in the Canadian North-West, known by the name of Doukhobors, had broken loose, abandoned their farms and set out naked across the prairies in search of the new Messiah. Beyond the fact that the Dominion Government had to take strict measures with them and send out the Mounted Police to round them up and return them to their homesteads, if need be, by force, nothing more was heard of them and even at this present time people so far west as Winnipeg have very erroneous notions concerning these their brother citizens of the Empire. For instance, you will be told that they are a race of religious fanatics who are dull-witted, incapable of prolonged or skilful labour, and a very bad investment for any country in which they settle. The prejudice against them is very strong and usually mixed up with a considerable amount of contempt.

That this should be so is natural, for, in the first place, as refugees from the Russian autocracy they were in the beginning held to be a dangerous anarchical element. Then being men of an alien culture, and incapable of speaking English, they were unable to mingle with the general inflow of emigrants and were led to band themselves into colonies, thereby retaining and reproducing in Canada all the old strange peasant life which they should have left behind them. And, lastly, there was amongst them a certain percentage of the

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wild, religious, roving element which was the direct outcome of the social conditions of their native land.

Much, therefore, of the ill-feeling which their advent occasioned was due to misunderstandings arising from their lack of English and their peculiar upbringing.

In order to form a just estimate of the Doukhobor I visited a colony which had been settled in the country seven years, and which is sufficiently large to be fairly typical of all their settlements ; this I found at Canora on the Canadian Northern Railroad.

Canora is a rapidly growing town of only three years of age which owes its beginning to the coming of the railway. The Doukhobors were therefore the first people in this country, being four years ahead of the town, and are to-day very large landowners in that district. On asking the opinion of their English-speaking neighbours, I found that no one had a word to say against them, and that for the most part they were praised. Of their hospitality very much was said, for any man, no matter what his tongue or nationality, who knocks at a Doukhobor's door is sure of a welcome. It is a religious instinct and principle with them to do all that lies within their power for the stranger and to allow no payment. His horse is taken in, and fed on the best fodder which they can provide, whilst the master is given the run of the house.

Men have told me of how on departing they have tried to make some small return by offering money to the children, but they have always been refused it—a self-denial which would be a very severe test to the English child.

After months of travel in the North-West one's eye becomes weary of the low, wooden-built houses of the colonial farmer, and a great longing arises for the quaint red-brick and narrow-gabled homestead of the Midlands. To this monotony the Doukhobor village is an exception. There is a distinct attempt at the artistic in all his undertakings. The village of which I am about to speak was built upon the slopes of what we should call a glen in Scotland, and was surrounded with a green overgrowth of trees and shrubs. The buildings were long and low, made out of rough-hewn trees plastered over with a mixture of

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clay, dung and straw, whilst the roofs were made of the same mixture and for the most part overgrown with grass and wild-flowers. Some of the walls of the houses had been painted, and the shutters were decorated with bold floral designs mostly of the sun-flower type. The windows were hung with curtains of bright colours and spotlessly clean. Each cottage stood by itself and was surrounded by a garden containing all manner of vegetables. In the midst of the village one immense barn had been built in which all the farm implements were kept. The fields around the colony were well cultivated and bore heavy crops of wheat and oats promising a big harvest. They were however in no ways like an English cornfield, but of many acres and quite open. One reason for this is that all their ploughing is done by steam.

On this particular part of the country the steam-plough has not been much of a success, for the farmers don't know how to handle it properly and are therefore giving it up. Within seven miles of where I write a catastrophe has occurred and a steam-plough is lying, and has been lying, in a morass for the last fortnight. The Doukhobors, however, who are reputed to be so stupid, have made their steam implements a success and continue to use them.

On driving into the village I hailed an old white-haired man and commenced to ask him where I could find some one to show me around, but all he could say was "Me no speak English." He, however, soon found and brought me some one who could. This new-comer was a big, broad-shouldered fellow with a high complexion, blue eyes and flaxen hair—he must have stood at least six feet two. He took off his hat to me (a thing which few men do in the North-West), and shook hands, afterwards kissing my hand. This is the customary mode of greeting with the Doukhobor, save that on meeting one of his brethren he always kisses his cheek. I was very anxious to see them at their religious services, but was told that they only hold their public worship once a day, and that at four in the morning.

This particular settlement consisted of forty farms which were worked in common by the community.

All their earnings are handed over to the head man of

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their order, Peter Veregan, who invests all the brotherhood's savings for the profit of all. Any differences which may arise are settled among themselves in a religious way, for a Doukhobor makes no use of the civil courts. Indeed, the entire pattern of their lives may be said to be religious and based upon their interpretation of the scriptures. How well the established order of things works amongst them may be tested by the fact that there is no crime amongst them, no drinking, no smoking, and no strong language. Everywhere that I went I met with the spirit of tranquillity and the greeting was always the same—the raised hat and the hand-shake. They are a people of the Breton type of countenance, broad-faced, with high cheek-bones, eyes far apart and a somewhat flattened nose. They bear the mark of men who have been down-trodden and exploited by one who was stronger than they, but who, having re-asserted themselves, have escaped and found peace.

The women are all dressed in linen stuffs of a subdued colour, with white handkerchiefs thrown over their heads and a bright-tinted cloth around their throats and bosoms. They are of somewhat smaller build than the men, most of them being short, but deep-chested and very thick-set.

All of them work, even the children, but they do it with cheerfulness and with singing, and not as mere drudges under compulsion. Singing is one of their favourite occupations, and it is all religious. When their work is over they gather together in groups and take parts.

Amongst other things they are famous stock-raisers and do not content themselves, as so many of the Western farmers do, with merely growing their crop and then waiting with idle hands through the winter, but they get really good breeds of cattle and attend to them carefully.

The precise form of their religious belief is not very well understood, but the essential part of it in practice is gentleness. So far do they carry this that they absolutely refuse to take life of any kind, and never eat meat of any sort. To judge by their appearance their vegetarian habits agree with them, for in no part of Canada have I seen a community of men and women looking so thoroughly robust, healthy and well-content.

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What proportion of the Doukhobors took part in the fanatical search for the new Messiah I have not been able to ascertain, but those English-speaking settlers who live near by say that it was only the less reputable part. In the autumn of last year an attempt was made to repeat the same performance, but it was entirely discountenanced by the officials of their own people.

At that time the Canora Hotel was being built, and amongst those employed upon it were two Doukhobors. When the naked visionaries were passing through the town they attempted to persuade these two brethren to abandon their work and accompany them. To this invitation they gave a prompt refusal, saying that the "seekers" were a lot of idle people who preferred wandering the prairies to running their farms, and they warned them not to visit any of the Doukhor villages in the neighbourhood, as they were entirely out of sympathy with the movement. This would seem then to be the true explanation of a curious religious movement which caused so much stir in England, namely, that those who took part in it were the most worthless of their kind and that the whole sect has been judged by its lowest elements.

At any rate, it is quite certain that they are most respected by the people who would naturally have most cause to complain of them—those settlers who are their nearest neighbours.

Canora, Assiniboia.

II. MENONITES

I had often heard of the Menonites as a strange people with curious beliefs, and it was therefore with no small interest that I learnt as I sat at breakfast in Humbolt that the neighbour on my left was one of that sect. Humbolt is about 400 miles from Winnipeg, and is one of the numerous mushroom pioneering towns which have sprung up within the last year. At first I eyed him with suspicion, and counted over in my mind all the odd people the name of whose religious faction had ended in *ite* whom I had known.

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This man, however, appeared quite normal, and, with that kindly affability which one finds all over this Western country, soon made overtures of friendship, and ended by asking me to drive thirty miles across the prairie with him to the Menonite settlement. And so it happened that after an all-night railway journey I found myself at nine o'clock on a fine July morning setting out in the company of an unknown man, to visit a to me unknown people.

With a passion for theology equal to anything to be found in the strictest Perthshire village he at once launched out into an exposition of his religion. The Menonites, like the Doukhobors, are frequently sneered at as being a bad class of Russian colonists, yet, strictly speaking, they are not Russians at all. Originally they came from Holland, but left it at an early date on account of the unpopularity of their religious practices. They are really the intellectual descendants of the early Quakers of the Commonwealth period. They do not maintain professional preachers, but depend for public worship upon the laymen of their church. Their philosophy of life is non-resistance, and to this is largely due their unpopularity in countries where conscription is in vogue. So far do they carry their principle that the strictest of the brethren to this day forbid the carrying of fire-arms and the eating of flesh.

They address one another in the second person singular, as do the members of the English Society of Friends.

Dancing is forbidden, as are smoking and drinking, so that in their manner of living they are distinct from any community in which they live.

In the early years when Holland was fighting for her sea-power their refusal to take up arms was naturally regarded with contempt, and they were compelled to emigrate to Germany. With the rise of Frederick the Great martial courage became the standard of excellence, and once again they came in for a good deal of petty persecution. In 1790, according to the Menonite elder who gave me my information, the Czarina of Russia offered them a grant of land and protection, and her offer was accepted. As time went on, however, casuistry found a way whereby the promise might be practically revoked,

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whilst the actual letter of the pledge was kept intact. Since the Menonite refused to fight he was compelled to serve in the menial positions of the camp such as horse-tender and dish-washer.

In this way many of the weaker brethren were lost to the faith, since they preferred to act contrary to their doctrines and go in the army as conscripts, to subjecting themselves to the degradation of camp servitors.

When the boom commenced in Canada they were amongst the earliest of the settlers, and the Dominion became to them what England was to the Huguenot.

In all their travels they have preserved their skill as agriculturists and are amongst the most industrious of the farmers.

Of late years the teaching of Swedenborg has carried off many of their young people, insomuch that the very reading of his works is a sufficient reason for expulsion.

Of these things and of many others we talked as the bronco ponies jogged along the trail, and in all his conversation this pioneer farmer proved himself to be a man of keen intellect and exceptionally well-read.

Life was for him not an inevitable condition, but a serious occupation and a thing to be studied. These men of the wilds are by no means the untutored coarse people they are commonly thought to be; I am continually surprised at finding, in the most out-of-the-way places, men who think in large terms and who possess well-stocked minds.

The country through which we travelled was one vast carpet of flowers, broken here and there by lakes and small hills crowned with trees. The wild rose grows everywhere in low shrubs just high enough to throw a veil of pink over all the prairie and away to the sky-line. The tiger lily is as frequent in some places as the English dandelion, and shows up tawny from amongst the long blue grass. One might have shot wild duck by the bagful, for every lake was dotted with them and for the most part near to shore. In a stretch of thirty miles you may usually reckon upon meeting at least ten different representatives from the leading European nations, so that even upon a prairie, 400 miles

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distant from Winnipeg, you may feel the breath of Paris, of Rome and of St. Petersburg. At first the foreign settlers will try to introduce into their farms the culture which they have been accustomed to in the homeland, so that you will see houses built of rough-hewn logs, of mud, of timber and of sod, each recording the tradition of the man who built it.

At noon we unharnessed our team and sat down to picnic beside a lake. To the fastidious palate our menu will not sound very appetising : it consisted of the fag-end of a ham, a tin of tomatoes upon the label of which strict injunctions were printed that the contents must be boiled before eating, some very dry bread, and a tin of lukewarm water which we had brought with us. We had no knives or plates, and had to eat with our hands.

On the prairie, even on the warmest day, there is usually a cool wind blowing which gives an appetite which is not very discriminating, the chief necessity being that it must be satisfied. We ate very heartily and watched the horses grazing and switching their tails from side to side, whilst my companion discoursed upon the strange providence which brought two men together, the one from a distant Russian province, the other from the roar of London, and flung them down for forty-eight hours upon an untilled wilderness where only Indians roamed thirty years ago. Then he wandered off into memories of the old life which he had left behind. He spoke of the peasants of Russia, and the tyranny of the officials who govern them. At last we pulled ourselves together, harnessed our horses, and drove on another fifteen miles to the farmhouse at which we were to spend the night.

The sun was already setting when we drew up, but daylight would remain with us for another four hours. These people had only been on their land since spring, and yet they had 70 acres of land broken and a fine stable erected sufficient for fourteen horses. Most of their ploughing had been done by oxen, three to a team, and as we arrived they were just preparing for another four hours' spell of work. There was something very picturesque about these men with their strange clothes, their broken English and great red and white oxen dawdling up and

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down the half-mile furrow in the setting sun. The women and children wore no shoes, and some of them carried their long flaxen hair low upon their shoulders. They are a fine people with strong honest faces and large horny hands.

The owner of the farm was a great sportsman and had already procured a bucking bronco which he was accustomed to dare his visitors to ride. My companion accepted the challenge and mounted.

It was a little black animal with a white spot on the forehead, and very long slender legs. At first it stopped quite still like a statue with its small feet well planted. Down came the whip and away it raced, then suddenly stopped, jerking its rider nearly out of the saddle, rose up on its hind legs, wheeled round to the right, nearly turned a somersault, swung round again and was off like the wind. The rider by this time was hanging on to its neck with his feet stretched out behind for all the world as though he were trying to swim. Nevertheless he stuck on and won the dare.

At supper all the hands and family gathered together into the one living-room and bowed their heads in silent prayer, after which the meal commenced. They laughed and talked, telling jokes now in Russe, now in German, and now in English, whilst behind the thin partition the horses kicked and fretted.

When the meal was ended we harnessed up a fresh team and drove twenty miles through prairie grass a foot and a half high, and visited the farmers in the vicinity. They were all of a type, being men of light complexion and big physique. Most of them had fine cattle, for the Menonites are noted throughout the West for their splendid horses.

At ten o'clock in the evening we turned homeward. Overhead the moon was shining and the stars were out, but along the horizon the pale blue and delicate purples of day still hovered. Then to the accompaniment of thudding hoofs and the switch of the long grass, they struck up the old-world hymns and love-songs of the Russian countryside. After each burst of singing, they would remain silent for a while, as if recalling the former places and past days in which they had sung those self-same songs.

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Then again in low tones some one else would take up the burthen of memory and one by one the rest would join in.

All the men folk slept in the stable on hay and rugs, and I with them.

Next morning we arose at five, held the short five minutes of silent prayer, once more renewed the old friendly conversation of the night before as we sat at breakfast, and at last, with regrets for the happy time which we had spent together, rose up and went upon our way, they to the plough and I to my travels.

Lloydminster, Alberta.

III. RED INDIAN CHRISTIANS

That night I slept in a tent surrounded by the intense quiet of an uninhabited country. Before turning in, I had stood at my tent-door, watching the dull-red glow of the Indian camp fires, and wondering of what the Indians' real life consisted, whether it was merely a matter of earn and spend, or if there might not be something a little more intense.

They had just come in from up-river, bringing with them two boat-loads of furs, consisting of the last winter's catch.

One crew were from Nelson River, the other from Split Lake; the first, as I was informed, being staunch Anglicans, the second Methodists. I found the idea rather amusing, for I had seen these high churchmen dancing and singing all day, and thought of them only as so many grown-up children. I remembered the stately secluded chapels of Oxford, with their dim lights and surpliced priests, and could not help but wonder what answer they would return to those unkempt men of the woods should they claim acquaintance or come to worship with the undergraduates.

Far out on the lake the sunset lights still lingered, gradually working round toward the dawn, for in these northern wildernesses of Keewatin the sun never wholly disappears in the summer months, but, as if to make amends for the long, dark winter days, always leaves a little

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torch of promise burning somewhere along the horizon. Certainly there was a religion in these lonely places which appealed to the civilised man, and caused him to think ; but what of these others to whom God had become so accustomed?—had they ceased to observe Him? Away in the distance, a husky dog began to howl; and every other in the vicinity took up the chorus of misery. It seemed to come as an answer to my questionings. These men were wild and wolfish as the animals they drove, they were untameable, and at bay against the world. Their religion could be only an amusement—nothing more.

So it was that I had lain down to sleep amongst a strange people whom I could not understand. Next morning I was awakened early by the sound of singing. It was not the kind of singing to which I had been accustomed, but very low-pitched and throbbing with passion. I closed my eyes and listened. It brought back to me the distant roar of London on a summer's night, when the loud outcry of the day has sunk away into the subdued complainings of a restless city which tosses even in its sleep. It was wild and thrilling, and yet so suppressed that at times it almost died away in a whisper. Over and over they repeated it, until at last it took shape and form. They were singing the *Te Deum* in their native Cree ; singing it as though they were not quite sure whether they were worthy to praise the same God as the white man, but praising Him notwithstanding.

How typical this singing is of the river Indians as a race ! They are so gentle and so uncommunicative that on first acquaintance one is apt to take their gentleness for humility and their fewness of words for dulness of wits. At the back of all surface appearance they possess a fundamental sternness, grown into and made a part of their innermost being through long years of solitary wanderings in unfrequented woodland paths. When you encounter Nature in the vast untamed forms of uninhabited lake and wood, she is not the winning mother whom we love to think of in our happy English farmlands, but seems aloof and austere, with the suppressed emotion of one who has thought the world back to its beginning, and has failed

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to comprehend. A something of this same grandeur of reserve has found a place in the soul of the Indian, so that when he worships, it is not with the clash of brass nor the vigour of exclamatory prayer, but with the timidity of the wild things of his native forest, as one who fears the friendly hand.

Only in his worship does the Indian betray his deeper feelings. At all other times he is the happy child who is well content with the pleasure of to-day.

On arriving in their camp, the fires were once again kindled, breakfast was in preparation and all signs of emotion gone.

The Indian has only one way of preparing a meal. He takes a quantity of flour, mixes it with water into a thick paste, and then spreads it out with a depth of about half-an-inch upon a flat surface before the fire, until the outside becomes hard and brown. The result resembles in taste the ship's biscuit which we ate in the days of our prodigality at the sea-side, only the dough in the centre remains uncooked. This is washed down by the blackest of black tea without any admixture of milk, and accompanied by half-inch slabs of greasy bacon.

On such fare the Indian will hunt, row, paddle or drive his dog-team for days at a stretch, and return at the end of his voyage well-nourished and cheerful.

When all was ready, they sang together their version of our English grace, "Be present at our table, Lord," after which, with a clatter of tins and a chorus of contented grunts, they set to work upon their half-cooked dough.

After breakfast, the canoes were made ready, and the little steam-launch which we possessed stoked up in order that a trip might be made to the Mission, three miles distant.

This was a great event. These Indians had come, some two, and some three, hundred miles from the North—it was their summer holiday, their annual trip to Southend. Each man put on what he considered to be his best ; gaudy scarves were quite in fashion, also watch-chains of recent purchase. They came aboard the launch in twos and threes, holding hands like little children. Some of them

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had never seen anything in the shape of a steamer before, and jumped back afraid when the engineer opened the steam-escape.

When the launch was so full that it could hold no more, the remainder tumbled into their canoes and followed in our wake. The Methodist missionary in the North is very severe at times in his notions of what is proper; the gentleman whose church we were about to visit was specially averse to smoking, dancing and cards.

The Indian, for all his simplicity, is a very cunning fellow. At the commencement of our voyage all the pipes were in full blast, but long before we reached shore every trace of tobacco had vanished, save from among the naughty white men, who did not seem to care.

The Mission-house was a long, grey building standing on a little bay with a small village clustered round it, and an Indian school in the rear.

Our advent created a considerable excitement; such a congregation had not been seen within those precincts for many a long day. We were in all at the least two hundred and fifty strong, and packed close almost to suffocation point.

As a special courtesy to the white men present, the service was conducted in two languages, English first, followed by the Cree translation. We were an odd sight, take us all in all. Squaws with crying children on their backs, Indian hunters with bronzed keen faces drinking in every word, half-breeds with ear-rings and tails of beaver hanging from their caps, white traders leaning back with an amused smile playing around their lips, and the missionary's family setting an example of devout and pious attention.

We traversed several of the beautiful Wesleyan hymns which I had heard sung under such different circumstances in the villages of England, and at last came to the sermon.

The text was becomingly appropriate—"Now are we the sons of God"—Indians and white men with their diverse records and their small knowledge of one another's ways all included in the same category as sons of God. I looked at them, and saw the various emotions chasing across

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their dusky faces, and then looked at my British brothers with their sneering indifference, and wondered which had the more just claim to the title.

On our return journey, the Split Lakers and Nelson men had little to say. When we had travelled a fitting distance from the shore, they re-lit their pipes, and, still holding the hand of a friend, sat brooding over what they had heard.

Not so we of the paler hue. Criticism was rampant, and the sermon was discussed, much to the detriment of the preacher, whilst these other sons of the same heritage sat and thought.

Sunday with the white man is not a day to be scrupulously observed; it is more convenient for the sorting-out of the tattered fragments of the past week, the balancing of cash accounts and the taking stock of stores.

With the Indian, curiously enough, it is a day of devotion. They sat in groups and talked in low voices, every now and then raising a hymn. The Church of England party had with them a native catechist who read and made comments on the Bible in an informal way, after which all joined in the discussion.

At length the quiet Northern evening began to gather, and the long shadows spread over lake and river; the last sound I heard as I turned in for the night was the old martial strain which I had heard the Honourable Artillery play as they marched out of the barracks in City Road long years ago, when I was a little boy, "The Son of God goes forth to War," but no longer wondered what part these red-skinned people of the barren lands had in His campaign.

CONINGSBY WILLIAM DAWSON

Nelson, B.C.

A MINIMUM WAGE

THE Industrial Remuneration Conference of 1885 invented Mr. Burns and Mr. Balfour, said Sir Charles Dilke when he presided on the first day at the Minimum Wage Conference of 1906. Such an achievement would be a sufficient justification for the convening of any assemblage, and in this case it would appear to have been its sole justification. Interesting as are the records of the 1885 meeting, knowledge of them is confined to a few economists, and they have mainly furnished additional unread volumes for the shelves of reference libraries. Not such is it intended shall be the result of the deliberations of 1906.

The Conference was a direct result of the Sweated Industries Exhibition. The large and representative Committee, which the *Daily News* had called to their assistance for the organisation of the show, could not be satisfied with the sense that widespread feeling now existed, and yet nothing practical was done. To rouse such feeling and to allow it to evaporate in mere purposeless sentiment would be criminal. From London to Leicester and to Manchester, and thence to other great towns, the Exhibition travels; waking in each place the tardy recognition that for the lower ranks of labour, the modern city is "much like hell." From each centre comes the question, "What can we do?"

The causes for the state of things before us, to be summed up as bad conditions of employment, low rates of wages, and endless hours of labour, are many and tangled: the hopelessness of introducing trade organisation, the feeble existence of dying industries, the competition of subsidised labour, are among the causes which play their part. The

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cures which presented themselves to the Committee were equally numerous. The system of licensing houses to which work is given out, mentioned by Sir Charles Dilke, as moved by him in 1895, is one suggested remedy as to which authorities differ, the balance of official opinion being, as I understand, against it. But on the subject of the greater extension of the powers both of the Sanitary and Factory Inspectors to all places which work enters, there is no difference, except of detail, and it is clear that the amending Factory Bill, promised us by Mr. Herbert Gladstone, will be carefully scrutinised with the view of seeing that it contains strong clauses whereby the working home will be protected, as the workshop now is.

In the background are the larger solutions, forced into clearer prominence so soon as we tackle these questions. Such are the raising of the age for child labour, provision for mothers, the establishment of Old Age Pensions, relief from the competition of the Unemployable, absorption of the Unemployed. The whole question of housing forces itself on our attention, and to ignore the bearing of the land laws on the problem is impossible.

The question, however, for the Committee was how to concentrate on some practical purpose the deep feeling which had been in many cases for the first time stirred.

One clear issue stood out. This massing of unfit workers, this pressure on old and young, this toil of day and night centres round one fact—the pay for which the work is done. The goodness of the average man or woman to parent or child is instinctive, but the immolation of both to the demand of home work is explained by the reply of the woman who, when remonstrated with for over-work of her child, answered, “he’d better work than starve.” Certain legislative enactments already deal with wages. The Particulars Section, extended tardily by successive Home Secretaries to different trades, furnishes a contract to the worker, by which he or she can calculate the amount to be received for any given piece of work: the Truck Act, according to its original framers, ordains the payment of all wages in current coin of the realm; but no law has so far dealt with the question of what the wage shall be. The subject has been frequently

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mooted. The necessity for a Minimum Wage is one on which Labour is clear, but it is one which as far as legislation is concerned has been dealt with mainly by pious resolutions, and in spite of its importance was not till now in the front rank of questions to be solved, as are for instance the proposals I have named which come under the head of Factory and Workshop Legislation.

It was on this question, then, that the Committee determined to concentrate their efforts—this clear issue it was found appealed to the general public, and since, for any legislative action, the pressure of a strong public opinion is needed, all those roused to a desire for reform by the Industries Exhibition are being enrolled as members of a Minimum Wage League.

To lift the question out of the domain of pious resolutions precise knowledge was needed. For legislative purposes it is insufficient to be clear that a Minimum Wage in Sweated Industries is desirable : it remains to see how it can be put in force and to consider the difficulties of its application by observation of its effect elsewhere. Out of this decision sprang the Guildhall Conference which has just taken place, at which those economists who had studied, or those who had practical experience of, these questions, submitted their views for the consideration and discussion of delegates from all Trade Union and Labour bodies. To this first class belonged Mr. Sidney Webb, Mr. J. A. Hobson, Mr. Chiozza Money, M.P., to the latter Mr. Askwith, one of the best known of our Arbitrators in trade disputes, Mr. Walsh, M.P., Miss Black and myself. The most interesting day was that, however, in which Mr. W. P. Reeves, High Commissioner for New Zealand, and Mr. Bernard Wise, ex-Attorney-General for New South Wales, inventors both of schemes now in force for dealing with the question, gave their experience and made their suggestions ; while Mr. Hoatson, ex-Vice-President of the Anti-Sweating League of Victoria, propounded the scheme of Wages Boards by which that colony deals with the sweating problem. The Chairmen of the two last days were Mr. George Barnes and Lord Dunraven, the one a great Labour leader, the other bringing with him appropriate reminiscences of the House

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of Lords Committee on Sweating twelve or more years ago.

The discussions, as might have been expected from the large Socialistic element in the constitution of the Conference, travelled far. Every solution, immediate or remote, of the Labour problem was touched on. The point was made again and again, that no industrial worker receives under present conditions the due reward of his labour, and that in this sense all labour is sweated, though for the moment we dealt with the "super-sweated" alone. Another difficulty arose from a confusion in the minds of many of the audience between the fixing of a national minimum living wage, and the practical steps which can be taken immediately to raise the wages in certain trades above their present exaggeratedly low level. There was a tendency in some quarters to treat these things as incompatible. They are, of course, absolutely compatible, and it is necessary, while forcing up the Minimum Wage trade by trade, to keep before us a standard rate, which shall represent a living wage, interpreted, of course, in different figures, since the purchasing power of money varies in different districts.

The more interesting part of the Conference consisted in the papers read and in the questions put, which cleared up many vexed points. The complications and difficulties which would arise in settling different prices and scales for work as varied as is that in the Clothing trades or in many other of the sweated industries, is a point which has been present to the minds of all who have tried to think out this question. It was largely with this difficulty that Mr. Askwith dealt, and his elaborate description of the agreement arrived at in the Nottingham Lace Trade, where determinations had to be made in the case of three different sections, in one of which alone there were twenty-nine different kinds of cards, was encouraging enough. Determinations in the Boot and Shoe trade, fixing scores of minimum wages for different kinds of work and for different localities, were instanced. As elaborate are the scales settled in judgments given under Mr. Wise's Act, and in the very different system of Victoria. Following on Mr. Askwith's testimony as to the practicability of fixing by award minimum rates in

the most intricate cases, came Mr. Walsh's testimony as to the possibility of fixing a scale even in a trade so beset with peculiar difficulties as that of coal mining. "Over large areas," said he, "price lists and working conditions had been fixed, which had focussed and crystalised payment for the various conditions in mines."

Many instances were quoted to show how the home worker and the worker incapable of organisation pull down the level of pay, which the organised members are trying to fix. The woman secretary of the Leicester Boot and Shoe Union, Miss Wilson, gave wages varying from 16s. to 20s. in a fifty hours week for different processes : these were Union rates. Those paid to unorganised workers ranged from 7s. to 16s. for the same processes. The Tailors brought forward even greater discrepancies. A "Lady's costume" as made for a sweat shop will be turned out at a wage of 1s. 7½d. while 30s. will be paid according to the "log" for a complete dress. The umbrella trade, the cabinet-making trade and many more, furnished further instances ; some of them showing how, individually or collectively, even the great and highly organised trades suffer from unorganised competition. The point was made clear that the absence of any minimum for the lowest paid trades affects the whole question of industrial remuneration.

Mr. Sidney Webb dealt, as did Mr. J. A. Hobson, with the bogey of foreign competition, used as an argument against the raising of wages by legislation. Not only must an increased wage, entailing better food and more leisure, mean additional efficiency to the worker, but increasing international understanding among workers and legislators, such as is brought about by the great Trade Union and Labour Conferences on the one hand, or by the official meetings promoted by the International Association for Labour Laws on the other, will be our safeguards on this point. The treaties which will grow from them must be looked to to meet this difficulty. No argument can be brought forward to justify our retention of a condition of things in which the lowest grades of labour are sunk in misery. Moreover, Germany is already considering the question of how to deal with her sweated industries ; the Workmen's

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League in Switzerland is promoting a Bill to deal with the question of a Minimum Wage ; even Argentina is considering the matter. England is not in a position to hug herself as being ahead of all other nations in her Labour standard ; it is time we once more set the pace. The much commented on decision of the British Government, a virtual determination not to prohibit the use of yellow phosphorus in making of matches till Japan comes into line, is not an achievement on which we have to congratulate ourselves.

The papers I have touched on (and others with which I have no time to deal, the admirable paper by Mr. Chiozza Money, or that in which Miss Black dealt with the sufferings of the children) cleared our way. It was seen that the fixing of a Minimum Wage for the lowest paid trades would be a gain to these trades, to all industry, and to the community at large ; that there was already a margin of differing payment for the same article on which to work, and that that which was needed was legislative machinery.

The practical experience of the working of laws dealing with Minimum Wage, such as that which was given us by Mr. Wise, Mr. Reeves, and Mr. Hoatson, was invaluable. The great system of Labour legislation for New Zealand, which will be always associated with the name of Mr. Reeves, is very similar to that of New South Wales. I say of New South Wales, although a Federal Act was passed in December 1904 by the Commonwealth Parliament which extends the principle that underlies the New South Wales and New Zealand Acts to the whole of Australia. In any trade dispute which extends beyond the limits of a single State (*i.e.* one of the former six colonies) a Court can establish a regulation of the trade. But the Act might be held to be unconstitutional, as beyond the Federal powers. The Victorian scheme, by which Wages Boards are established, had this advantage for the audience over the other schemes, that it dealt, trade by trade, with the one question of wages with which the Conference had been dealing. It was indeed felt by the creators of the larger schemes that it would be necessary in this country to make great modifications on their original plan. Some of the points dealt with furnished much needed refutation to opponents of Minimum

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Wage schemes. We found that the Minimum Wage as fixed by law tends no more to become a maximum wage than it does when fixed by combination ; as a matter of fact, the Minimum rises. One story told by Mr. Hoatson as to the way in which the Wages Board System had justified itself was an instance of the conversion to the scheme of one of its worst employer opponents. Any system which forces the bad employer to come into line with those who are better disposed is sure to gain the support of the best of the employing class. How the Victorian Wages Boards are created by the appointment of an equal number of employers and employed in any trade, with an efficient outside chairman, how they have proved their value after many years' trial and been gradually extended to the number of about forty trades, was well told by Mr. Hoatson. The keynote of each different speaker's address was that we should go and do likewise.

It now remains for us to frame and press forward practical legislative proposals for dealing with sweated trades, armed with the resolution of the Conference. This will be the first care of the Anti-Sweating League, and round this will focus their work and agitation. The Wages Board Bill, *à ballon d'essai* introduced for educational purposes in the House of Commons, exists, but amendment and alteration will now be needed for it. Whatever form our Minimum Wage Bill takes, it is certain that as the definite outcome of the object-lesson of the spring, and as the legislative embodiment of a principle to which Labour is committed, it must carry great weight. It is clear, even to those who did not hear the Chairman's opening prophecy, that it is possible during the life of a House of Commons, as progressive as the present one, for proposals dealing with the Minimum Wage for Sweated Industries to be pushed to the front. It should be possible for them to become law. But those of us who, as friends of Labour, viewed the incoming of the present Government with high hope, have grown anxious and out of heart. There is, as we all know, apart from the Labour Party, a strong Socialistic and Radical body of opinion which can be counted on to support Labour on any question of Social reform, but if time is to

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be wasted on Trade Dispute Bills introduced in such a form that months must be spent on their amendment ; if a year elapses in wrangles over the spiritual welfare of children whose first pressing need is that their bodies should be fed and clothed, the majority will dwindle and one more barren Government will be added to the long line. There is always an element in political life which, at a time of social movement such as this, acts on the knowledge that we are a Conservative people, and that, as the Red Queen explained to Alice in their journey through the Looking Glass, " In this country you have usually to run very hard to keep in the same place." For them the policy is a waiting game, and if a sufficient number of knotty proposals can be put forward on which strength and enthusiasm can be expended, they reckon that the turn of the tide will put us in the same back-wash again. This official danger can be met by public feeling alone. We are remonstrated with at times for trying to drag the churches and every available social force in to hurry the pace. Nevertheless, it is only by rousing every man and woman to protest against such evils as the Sweating system and press for Social reform that any step forward will be gained. This question of a Minimum Wage is one of the many for which public opinion and agitation is needed, and if the great body of citizens lapse into apathy, Exhibition and Conference being over, that apathy will have its inevitable corollary in the fact that by and by another Government will unwillingly relinquish the joys of office with, once more, nothing done.

GERTRUDE TUCKWELL

GEORGE MEREDITH'S 'HYMN TO COLOUR'

THERE has been a good deal of writing on the subject of George Meredith's poems, but one very important question, known to be in the air, this writing generally shirks—the question, namely, whether they are in the strict sense poetry or not. Enthusiastic admirers of Meredith's philosophy—of whom happily there are not a few—are ready to retrace the scheme of life, to which he has given expression in his verse; but the supreme test to which he himself refers the activity of man—*is it accepted of Song?*—has hardly yet been brought to bear on one of the most characteristic of his own activities as a writer, I mean, his philosophical lyrics. The very name is enough to give the critic pause: it would have “made Quintilian stare and gasp”; but is there any other name by which such pieces as *The Woods of Westermain*, *Earth and Man* or the *Hymn to Colour* can fitly be described? And can it be denied that, with exception of a great dramatic narrative that stands entirely by itself, these pieces, whether rightly to be described as poetry or not, occupy the main line of Meredith's poetic effort?

The question concerning them offers itself for consideration in two ways: in the first place, supposing that philosophy, with all the connection and relativity of thought the word implies, is susceptible of the changefulness, the irresponsibility of diction we look for in a lyric, on what principle are the two elements, the lyrical and the philosophical, to combine, if they are to form what can truly be called a poem? and, in the second, has the combination actually been effected in this case and in that? We propose to

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offer first a few remarks on the general aspect of the question, and afterwards to proceed to give them a particular application.

How then is the philosopher to turn poet ? what is the quality essential to poetic work, before which even philosophy must bow ? Every work of art depends for its existence upon a material pre-existent in the artist's mind. The compositions of a child, however gifted, are always meagre because he has so limited a store of such material to draw on, has had so little experience. The artistic activity cannot in strictness be called, what it is so often called, creative : it needs a foundation for its palaces nor does it build them in the void. We may compare the artist to the builder, but as builder he has a peculiar problem set before him. No architect provides him with a plan, or complains of the material he uses. His material is what his resources may have made it ; that is no matter ; he is artist or no artist according to the principle on which he uses it. If he takes brick by brick laboriously and after tedious chipping and modelling erects at last an edifice that does not offend his taste, he has probably done little more than make a tidy heap of materials out of an untidy one. This is not artist's work. The essence of the artist's power is a kind of magic, a kind of magnetism, which if he is one of the greatest he may govern, but which more often governs him ; under this magic or magnetic spell, the materials shape themselves. The edifice rises sometimes slowly, sometimes with an unimaginable rapidity, but in either case it is a house not made with hands. And its peculiar characteristic is that the materials drawn thus magically into its service, are all changed ; by submitting to the spirit that shaped them, they have given up their separate individuality ; it is as if a chemical combination had been effected ; the elements may still be discoverable as elements, but only by the destruction of their product ; the essence of their nature lies in the new relation set up by the formative principle which has brought them all together. It does not matter then what the materials are, provided they are thus vitally related and owe no allegiance save to the magnetic inspiration which drew each to its place.

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Meredith being a philosopher, it is not surprising that a leading trait in all his work is its intellectuality. The kind of construction we have described, the construction by spontaneous magnetism, is clearly not intellectual in character. Intellect can never be the master faculty in the construction of a poem. The greater, the more commanding a poet's intellectual faculty, the harder is the task laid upon his strictly poetic faculty if he is to reduce the other to its due subjection. The province of the intellect is simply to provide material; when the true poetic activity begins, it has no longer any conscious part to play. But in past time, in periods when the higher power was dormant, the intellect was busy, and amassed a store. And the greater, the more varied the store, the greater is the promise of high poetic achievement, if there come but a time when the magic power has strength to assert itself and mould the materials to its will.

It seems to be true in Meredith's case, that the higher faculty seldom attains this perfect supremacy essential to true poetry. His nature possesses a depth and strength of passion and imagination, sufficient to have set the intellects of a thousand lesser men aflame. But his own intellect is seldom heated through, seldom loses itself in the divine fire: and for this reason a great deal of his verse fails, when judged by the strictly artistic standard, because it is perpetually disturbed by rebellious irruption on the part of an untamed intellect. But there are a few poems, even among the most philosophical, against which this charge cannot be brought. And these, just because of the magnificent range of experience, the richness and grandeur of the material on which they are founded, display a combination of significance and beauty, which is perhaps unique in literature. They are not poems merely: they imply a belief: but those who will may decline the creed, and content themselves with the poetry alone. When Wordsworth wrote

“Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting,”

the poetic quality of this and the lines that follow we can judge and appreciate by itself; it remains unaffected whether the idea expressed be true or false. But, of course, it would

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be an error to suppose that the truth or falsity of the idea is an indifferent matter. Of every work that claims to be inspired by the artistic spirit, we have first to determine whether it can stand the test of the purely artistic judgment. But all works of art are not on that account of equal value. Though Truth is not a quality of which the purely artistic judgment takes cognizance, it is a quality that must always exercise a deep, perhaps a paramount influence, when the rank, or relative value, of different works is the point at issue.

Meredith's verse is inspired throughout by a religious earnestness and conviction, based on a reasoned attitude to what he believes to be the facts of nature and human life. His practical philosophy is a religion in which he passionately believes. He holds that man can only command the future and enter upon his true inheritance, if he follows a certain path. He is therefore intensely eager to guide his steps in the right way, and cheer him over the rough places that may impede or divert him. Such, we say, is the leading inspiration in Meredith's verse. It bears its dangers upon the surface. No more commanding or inspiring guide exists than poetry that remains true to itself. But its method is not by the erection of sign posts or warnings, but by creating in the traveller the strength and spirit before which dangers and difficulties melt away. In Meredith, the poetic spirit is for the most part borne down by a sense of the intricacy and peril of life: he never ceases to encourage the wayfarer and cheer him on; but though half his inspiration is drawn from his very strength of soul, his fearlessness and self-reliance, yet he can never fully trust in his followers, and he is therefore for ever harking back to the external signs, that can have no place in poetry.

“ Enter these enchanted woods,
 You who dare.
Nothing harms beneath the leaves
More than waves a swimmer cleaves.
Toss your heart up with the lark,
Foot at peace with mouse and worm,
 Fare you fare.”

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What mystery, what exhilaration! who is not alert at the mere sound of lines like these, awake and eager to follow a guide who can speak thus? And if he but spoke so always, whither would he not carry us? Hear him again—

“Ay! and Love (if Love it be
Flaming over ‘I’ and ‘ME’)
Love meet they, *who will not shove*
Cravings in the van of Love.”

What a magnificent truth! and heralded how eloquently! but then how the spirit of the follower is damped by the method in which it is brought home to him! We may picture him with radiant eyes drinking courage from the transfigured countenance of his leader, when of a sudden that countenance fades from before him, the poet vanishes, and he sees nothing but a powerful hand—the hand of the practical philosopher—sternly planting a danger signal in his track. No signal, indeed, could be more salutary: yet it was not for the poet to provide it: his work was to create that state of heart and mind, in which the danger might be recognised without a signal.

And some poems there are, in which Meredith, without surrendering any part of the riches which his intellect has amassed, rises as if with the strength of a giant, and transmutes these riches into pure spiritual gold: it is a prodigious achievement, bearing for fruit a few of the sublimest pieces in our literature. We propose in what remains of this essay to concentrate attention upon one of these, perhaps the loveliest and most majestic of them all. The *Hymn to Colour* is a true poem: from opening to close the language of passion hardly falters, and in its intenser moments glows with an almost dazzling heat. Yet the casual reader may miss both heat and light, and find himself caught in a mere web of words. There is a kind of light, Dante tells us, that neighbours the invisible, apparent only to those whom it has first kindled with desire to pierce the mystery of its brightness.

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“Non che da sè sien queste cose acerbe :
Ma é difetto dalla parte tua,
Che non hai viste ancor tanto superbe.”¹

Analogous to this is the mystery that hangs about the *Hymn to Colour* and prevents more general recognition of its truth and beauty. It is a hymn sung, as it were, in one of the loftiest circles of the soul's Paradise, and to hear it rightly we must rise in imagination to the same circle that gave it birth : there alone will its words gain their true meaning, its melody and harmony combine to satisfy the spiritual sense.

It was said earlier that Meredith's poetry was of the kind that could not finally be judged apart from consideration of the truth or falsity of the ideas contained in it. Throughout Meredith's verse, the same ideas perpetually recur, a consistent view of life is asserted and reasserted. Ideas do not make poetry. But poetry, in which ideas occur, cannot be rightly appreciated, without due recognition of those ideas and of their meaning. And just because a poet is not concerned with the clear statement of ideas, but only with the creation of a state of consciousness, in which they are assumed, it is not to be expected that a poem, however rapturous, can be lucid and direct in its appeal, if based on ideas and observations at once subtle and profound and therefore necessarily unfamiliar to the general mind.

We therefore append a prose version of the Hymn, half-commentary and half translation, offering it to readers not yet at their ease in the world of Meredith's ideas, as a means of enabling them to rise to fuller appreciation of its beauty through clearer apprehension of the framework of the thought.

THE HYMN

I. A poem that culminates in the glory of sunrise is preluded by a stanza that suggests the transition from darkness to early dawn : the world is sleeping, and in

¹ Not that in themselves these things are forbidding : but there is failing on thy side, because thy vision is not yet raised so high.

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shadow, as of wooded valleys, its dreams drift at will down the swift smooth current of a river that is to break in the cataract called day. The poet is abroad with Life and Death as the companions of his thought : but Love joins him, and beside Love, Life and Death alike seem shadowy and unreal.

II. The darkness pales and in the dim twilight, earth is familiar yet strange : already the grass shows its proper hue, but the woods have a biting fragrance and the rocks rise like living things against the brightening sky. Save for Life and Death,—and Love who leads them and unites them—the poet is in an unpeopled land, alone.

III. Mercury, the morning star, gleams now no more from the pearly haze at the horizon, but has mounted to the upper band of rose. Shorn of his beams, he is bright still but shines as if from far away, like a jewel on the forehead of morning : the light comes in like the waves of a rising tide, and as the flood of colour pauses, ebbs and flows, it seems as if a gorgeous arras were hung out in the sky, an arras in which Life and Death are the alternate threads.

IV. The sun is hidden still, but his radiance is thrown like a mantle upon the snowy shoulders of a mountain range : the poet draws nearer to the spirit of Love : Love speaks to him. There, in the hues of sunrise, Life and Death have met: you cannot have the one without the other: and you cannot see either truly—but, instead of them, only the reflection of your own desire—till you see both as twin servants of Love.

V. Can a man learn what Life is by counting the throbbings of his pulse ? can he lift the veil from Death, by lifting the eyelid Death has closed ? Vain thought ! but the fire of the spirit is within him, aflame to join the greater fire of the spirit without : in this strength let him go on.

VI. Even now, in the sky of morning, colour, the spirit made visible, puts on his glory, like a bridegroom, and his bride is the spirit that can see : she springs to meet him, and his arms close like a prison about her, but the prison is the universe : and she learns in his embrace that there is one raiment for the heavens and for the lily of the field.

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VII. The unpeopled air is like a home to her, because colour is there, and the great spaces of the sky are her dominion. The mystery and the joy of their union is unfathomable: for to fathom it were but to bid it grow more deep.

VIII. Colour belongs not to living things only: it blooms and lingers lovingly even upon the form of Death. Where light is, colour is its life; where shadow, colour gives it aspiration; beauty without colour is a queen uncrowned. To know the love of colour is to know that the world is good: he is a lamp to the feet of his beloved, and a light upon her path.

IX. Love enters now into the poet's heart, and in the present glory of the sunrise he sees, as it were, the sum, the consummation of all the loveliness that colour has revealed to him. He sings, and his song is of the exquisite tenderness of dawn, the living radiance of the all-but risen sun. It is a splendour that endures but for the moment, and vanishes before the dew, yet for the spirit it wields a mightier influence than all the powers marshalled in the endless armament of Time.

X. To say "Behold, it is there," is to say that it is there no more: yet, in the rapture of the moment, each passing feature becomes a possession that memory treasures up: the great spectacle grows more and more majestic: the supreme hour arrives.

XI. A flood of rosy light, herald of the coming sun, pours forth, and fringes the white upper clouds with scarlet foam. The morning star is blotted out: heaven is aflame with the shapes and colours of the cherubim: it is a glory that does not overwhelm what is tremulous and tender, but gathers them to itself. The spirit catches us up; earth lies fold on fold in brown expanse beneath our feet.

XII. The risen sun recalls us to a more subdued meditation. There are some who think that the impulse of desire ends always in destruction, that the rapture it seeks cannot but involve it in defeat and death. These, having eyes, see not. They miss the true object of desire, and therefore the true strength of passion. For delight in lovely colour, if it be but in a flower, has a reviving influence, not

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deadening the future, but drawing fresh life out of the past.

XIII. It was thus, led by visions of loveliness like thine, Eternal Fount of Colour, that man rose from the brute and woke to the presence of the spirit, found heaven upon the earth. With thee to inspire him, thee to guide him, he shall go forth conquering and to conquer.

XIV. For his Eden, his paradise, is not behind him, but before : his paradise is the earth on which he lives : once a beast upon it, he will live upon it one day as a god, changed not by forfeiting the life-blood of the beast within him, but by attuning it to ever grander purposes, till earth rises at last in him to perfect harmony with her Creator.

XV. The vision and the song are ended, but their influence abides. Life gains a profounder meaning, and Death is transfused by the light of that great dawn which Life shall kindle when it has learned the true surrender of itself.

BASIL DE SÉLINCOURT

THE GOLD MINE FALLACY

I

IN South African politics, there is commonly made, without demur, an assumption of which it has never been thought necessary to offer any proof. Throughout the Transvaal imbroglio, from the beginning of the claims of the Uitlanders to the guarded restriction of Chinese Labour, it has been taken for granted, on both sides of the dispute of the hour, that the production of gold is a supremely desirable form of "industry," in that it at once employs labour, rewards capital, and supplies one of the most vital needs of the civilised world. When the war was brewing, no one, I think, carried economic deprecation of it beyond the argument that gold-mining was getting on very well despite political grievances, and that these would best be healed without a surgical operation. When servile labour was being introduced as an "economic necessity" the economic argument against it always assumed that the continuance of gold-mining must be secured somehow. And in the recent diffident interference with the conditions of coolie life at the Rand mines, an unaffected anxiety has always been shown for the unimpeded activity of the "industry" as a whole. Even the warmest assailants of servile labour have seldom gone further than to contend that some marginal mines might fitly be closed, and that in the event of the owners attempting to close the others they ought to be confiscated and worked by the State. Despite, however, this general contentment over the fundamental assumption that gold-mining is a vitally important form of production, it may be found worth while to analyse it in the light of social facts and economic principles.

THE GOLD MINE FALLACY

II

To begin with, there is to be noted the singular fact that the assumption in question involves the rejection of the generally accepted economic doctrine on the subject of gold, from Hume and Adam Smith onwards.

“The most abundant mines,” wrote Smith, “either of the precious metals or of the precious stones, could add little to the wealth of the world. A produce of which the value is principally derived from its scarcity, is necessarily degraded by its abundance. A service of plate, and the other frivolous ornaments of dress and furniture, could be purchased for a smaller quantity of labour, or for a smaller quantity of commodities; and in this would consist the sole advantage which the world could derive from that abundance.”

Here there is express denial of any general advantage from a large gold supply; and though to the æsthetic uses of gold, which alone Smith recognises, and which he belittles, there would now be added an enumeration of its industrial uses, and a proper recognition of the others,¹ the main position would not thereby be affected. Nor has there been any notable divergence from his doctrine among his chief English successors. Mill endorses Smith and Hume. Ricardo strongly advocated a currency wholly of paper-money. Fawcett, following Cairnes, rejects the view that gold output is the “source of the increased wealth of Australia,” pronouncing it merely “the primary stimulus of her prosperity.” Sidgwick, again, is at special pains to make clear what many people had failed to gather from Bagehot, and what Bagehot himself seems to have failed to gather from his own evidence,—that “the greater part of

¹ It is fair to remember that, despite his use of the term “frivolous” in the paragraph above cited, Smith had just before avowed, concerning the precious metals, that “if you except iron, they are more useful than, perhaps, any other metal;” and that he goes on to say: “Their principal merit, however, arises from their beauty.” As so often happens in his work, he has failed to co-ordinate his judgments.

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the 'unequalled loan-fund' of Lombard Street can never emerge from the immaterial condition of bankers' liabilities." In other words, the whole metallic circulation of the kingdom is much less than (perhaps only a fourth or a fifth of) the liabilities of bankers alone; and the gold reserve of the Bank of England is only a small fraction of the currency. From this point of view, the total quantitative importance of gold is slight indeed. And such a view, as Sidgwick notes, is implicit in the whole doctrine of Mr. Macleod, whose insight into the economics of money and credit is widely recognised.

From this attitude, I think, no English, French, German, or American economist of standing has markedly diverged. No trace of any such divergence appears in the *Principles* of Professor Alfred Marshall, so far as yet published. And though Cliffe Leslie attributed to gold-mining a "good and gain" which were "infinitely greater" than the accompanying "evil and loss"; though Professor Shields Nicholson seems even to revert to the view that lack of bullion was the cause of the fall of the Roman Empire; and though Mr. W. W. Carlile sharply counters Mill's doctrine of the "insignificance" of money in economics, it does not appear that any of these writers is fundamentally at issue with Smith. Mr. Carlile's thesis of the centrality of money in economics is not at all, I think, an assertion of the importance of an abundant supply of the precious metals. And Professor Nicholson, in arguing that "the mercantilist over-rating of the importance of the quantity of money has given place to an equally fallacious under-rating of the functions of money," does not revert to the cult of quantity. The quantity doctrine—in the sense not of the currency theory of prices but of the necessity of large supplies of bullion—is, however, in effect a return towards, if not to, the bullion delusion of the middle ages.

III

No less significant, on the moral side of the question, is the return of the old opinion that the conservation of any given industry—or at least of gold-mining in particular—is

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an end that justifies almost any means. This conviction has been as prominent in the discussions on Chinese Labour as the notion of the vital importance of gold-mining. Yet it had been supposed to be one of the gains of the middle part of the nineteenth century that it established in English legislation the principle that no economic interest could serve to justify the serious degradation of human life. After a generation of struggle, in which Owen took a notable part, the Factories Act of 1844 cut down the working hours of children under thirteen to a limit which had been declared to be incompatible with their profitable employment ; and in 1842 the labour of girls and women in mines was summarily put an end to, in disregard of all the vested interests of capital.

It is true that what has been done at the instance of capitalism in the Transvaal has not been ventured on in Britain. Indignant denials have of course been given to the suggestion that the principle of "economic necessity," used to justify coolie labour in the Rand mines, points to the importation of such labour for British coal and lead mines below the paying margin, and for depressed industries in general. But if the argument of economic necessity does not apply in these cases, it must be either on the assumption that gold-mining is the supremely important industry, justifying exceptional measures, or because of a simple recognition that it is at present politically unsafe so to apply it. On the latter interpretation, the resented suggestion is practically justified. We must turn, then, to the former for any tenable defence of the experiment of servile labour in the Transvaal.

IV

If we are to guard against confusion, we must keep in view from the beginning of the economic argument that the effect of gold discovery on the industrial life of the world is one order of causation, and the effect of gold supply is another. It is not to be disputed that a considerable discovery of gold always evokes an immediate outlay of capital, a movement of population, and a stimulus to several

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forms of production. But it is not with that sequence that we are here concerned, save in so far as the problem of the economic reactions raises the same issues in regard to a first discovery of gold and to its later production. As it happens, the twofold issue was very clearly seen and put long ago by Hume in his Essay on Money :—

“It was a shrewd observation of Anacharsis the Scythian,¹ who had never seen money in his own country, that gold and silver seemed to him of no use to the Greeks but to assist them in numeration and arithmetic. It is indeed evident that money is nothing but the representation of labour and commodities, and serves only as a method of rating or estimating them. Where coin is in greater plenty, as a greater quantity of it is required to represent the same quantity of goods, it can have no effect, either good or bad, taking a nation within itself, any more than it would make an alteration on a merchant's books if instead of the Arabian method of notation, which requires few characters, he should make use of the Roman, which requires a great many. Nay, the greater quantity of money, like the Roman characters, is rather inconvenient, and requires greater trouble both to keep and transport it. But notwithstanding this conclusion, which must be allowed just, it is certain that since the discovery of the mines in America, industry has increased in all the nations of Europe, except in the possessors of these mines ; and this may justly be ascribed, amongst other reasons, to the increase of gold and silver. Accordingly we find that in every kingdom into which money begins to flow in greater abundance than formerly, everything takes a new face ; labour and industry gain life ; the merchant becomes more enterprising, the manufacturer more diligent and skilful ; and even the farmer follows his plough with greater alacrity and attention. . . . To account then for this phenomenon we must consider that though the high price of commodities be a

¹ Plutarch, *Quomodo quis suos profectus in virtute sentire possit.*

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necessary consequence of the increase of gold and silver, yet it follows not immediately upon that increase, but some time is required before the money circulates through the whole state, and makes its effect be felt on all ranks of people. At first no alteration is perceived ; by degrees the price rises, first of one commodity, then of another ; till the whole at last reaches a just proportion with the new quantity of specie which is in the kingdom. In my opinion it is only in this interval or intermediate situation, between the acquisition of money and rise of prices, that the increasing quantity of gold and silver is favourable to industry.”¹

That argument, which contains what is true on both sides of the standing debate, may be reduced to the following technical form :—

1. The discovery of gold promotes industry and commerce, precisely in so far as, but no further than, it *increases demand for goods and labour*.

2. It thus effects only what is chronically effected without any discovery or increase of bullion whatever—for instance, by a speculative movement, involving much waste of capital in futile enterprises, or by a mere revival of public confidence after a time of contraction.

3. The stimulus consists, not in raising prices, but, as Hume says, in expanding demand up to the point at which prices rise : otherwise it would be the fact that a perpetual rise in prices is the condition of perpetual prosperity ; “which is absurd.” Chevalier and Cobden, it will be remembered, regarded a general rise of prices as a serious danger to commerce.

In other words, an increasing supply of the precious metals, or even a maintenance of the existing supply, is not necessary to the prosperity of industry. Granted that in the long run prices are an equation between the total supply of products and the total effective demand, which rests on money credits, this is no reason for increasing the bullion

¹ *Essay Of Money*, 6th and 7th pars.

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supply, either by fresh gold discoveries or by bimetallism. All modern experience goes to show that an increasing commerce may be maintained with a decreasing use of the precious metals as currency. The richest country in the world—that with the largest total volume of trade—is the United States, where gold coin is rarely seen. The use of both gold and silver is much less great in England than in France, by reason of the much greater use of cheques ; but the volume of trade reverses these proportions. In Scotland, again, gold is little used, bank-notes doing the work, with a small gold reserve ; but the volume of exchanges is in no way affected. Trade, finally, has beyond question expanded immensely during a period of slowly-declining prices. As aforesaid, only in so far as it has increased the total positive demand does fresh bullion increase production ; and only in so far as it remains in currency can it keep up prices.

Now, it lies on the face of the case that, after a certain point, gold production need not and does not add to total positive demand, and that it need not and does not remain in currency. I say positive demand, to avoid the objection that all supply *is* demand, and that hence the offer of bullion for sale is demand. In so far as it is offered in the form of gold plate, or gold leaf or bullion for use in the arts, I call it negative demand. Only when proffered as coin for services or produce does it constitute positive demand. But the special demand for services or produce in connection with gold-mining occurs rather before the given gold is produced than after. What is claimed for gold-discovery is that at the first news of it there is a rush of capital and labour to the spot, a large demand for new machinery and implements, a lightening of the labour market in countries whence the emigration takes place, and a great stimulus to trade and industry in the gold-bearing country. All perfectly true : we have seen it in the cases of California, Australia, and Klondyke. But it will be observed that all these benefits would equally have accrued for a time, at least, if the hope of finding gold had been a delusion, and if none had been found at all. Thus mere skilful lying may conceivably benefit industry for a certain time, even as do gold

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discoveries. The question is, how does the gold-supply operate when it comes?

The answer is simple. As we have seen, the gold cannot stimulate trade when it is *in* circulation. All the ancient benefits from metal money—the power of calculation, mobilisation, and transfer—have long been embodied in a financial machinery that utterly transcends the actual process of money payment, leaving that as far behind as it at first left barter. The benefit now can come only from increase of demand. Only in time of war is an indefinite command of bullion specially important, as constituting effectual demand, and we are specially concerned in this inquiry with the life of peace. Those who get the gold, either as shareholders or miners, buy either more or less goods than formerly on the same amount. If more, they have *pro tanto* stimulated industry.

But in so far as they proceed to invest their output or their savings in existing stocks, they are leaving industry in the *status quo ante*, and merely raising the price of stocks.

If, on the other hand, the money thus won is invested in new undertakings for supply, irrespective of demand, it will indeed stimulate industry and consumption in so far as it demands and pays hitherto unemployed labour, direct toil and other ; but here again it is only doing what is constantly done by processes of ordinary adventure, or of mere folly and fraud, independently of any increase of bullion supply.

V

Nor is this all. We have finally to face the crucial fact that in any given century the bulk of the capital invested in mining for the precious metals is lost in that process. Of course the process of loss is one which feeds workmen, and so “maintains industry.” But on that view the workmen might just as well be digging down hills and piling them up again ; indeed that would be a preferable activity, as being the healthier exercise. No advocate of the bullion view of industrial progress can well maintain his case for serious purposes if the following testimony, for instance, be true.

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It comes from Mr. L. A. Garnett, a Californian engineer, writing at San Francisco in 1869 :—

“ No one will deny, it is presumed, that within the United States there are at least 100,000 persons engaged *directly* in the process of extracting the precious metals. Now, to say nothing of the immense amount of capital invested in mining machinery and other incidental expenses, such as the salaries of engineers, superintendents, agents, secretaries, etc., etc., but simply taking the minimum day's wages of these 100,000 men, and which they could earn at any other pursuit, to wit, 12s. per day, and for 300 days, we have here £18,000,000 as the *cost of labour alone*, to produce £10,000,000 of the precious metals, or £1 16s. to the pound sterling produced. It would be entirely safe, therefore, to say that every £1 produced costs £2.” ¹

Long before Mr. Garnett, Adam Smith, citing Frezier and Ulloa, noted out how the mines of Peru, though the richest in the world, yielded little profit at best, and ruined many. In the Peruvian silver mines in the eighteenth century, he tells, “ the proprietor frequently exacts no other acknowledgment from the undertaker of the mine, but that he will grind the ore at his mill, paying him the ordinary multure or price of grinding.” The tin mines of Cornwall yielded on the whole a larger rent ; and “ when any person undertakes to work a new mine in Peru, he is universally looked upon as a man destined to bankruptcy and ruin. . . . Mining, it seems, is considered there in the same light as here, as a lottery in which the prizes do not compensate the blanks ; though the greatness of some tempts many adventurers to throw away their fortunes.” Whereas the royalty on silver had been reduced perforce from a fifth to a tenth, that on gold had been reduced to a twentieth ; and “ if it is rare . . . to find a person who has made his fortune by silver, it is still much rarer to find one who has done so by a gold mine.”

¹ Del Mar, who gives the above extract, claims to show, ch. 29, that the cost of gold and silver mining for the U.S. under free mining, “ is about 5 to 10 value.”

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It is now hardly necessary to press the lesson of the decay of Spanish wealth and power consequent on the acquisition of those very mines, with those of Mexico, by Spain. The sequence was fully realised in the eighteenth century, by the economic school of the Physiocrats, and was well put by the great Portuguese statesman, Pombal :—

“Gold and silver are fictitious riches ; these measures of value being but slowly destroyed, the more they are multiplied, the less is their real value. . . . When the Spaniards became masters of Mexico and Peru, they abandoned the natural riches of these countries to obtain conventional ones, the value of which becomes depreciated in proportion to the increase. . . . When the quantity of gold and silver in Europe was doubled, the price of everything also was doubled, and the profit of the mines became less.

For instance, to extract gold from the mines, and to produce it, certain labour is necessary—let us suppose $1/64$ th of the entire produce. By degrees, as it became plentiful, this produce would be in reality but half its former value, whilst the cost of production would necessarily be doubled. In following up this calculation we find the cause of the weakness of Spain.”

Again :—

“It is an invariable maxim that the riches of gold mines are chimerical to the States that possess them. Such States become but the distributors of their own treasures. The negroes that work in the mines of Brazil must be clothed by England, by which the value of their produce becomes relative to the price of cloth. To work the mines, it is necessary to have a large capital expended on slaves. If this sum be twenty millions, the interest, which is one million, independent of the cost of extraction, must be the first money paid from their produce. Add to this the food and clothing for more than 100,000 persons, blacks

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and whites, whom the mines carry to Brazil, which food is not to be found in the colony, but must be purchased from foreigners. Lastly, to supply the physical wants of the country, which since the discovery of the mines had lost its arts and manufactures, all the gold became the property of other nations. What riches, Great God, the possession of which involves the ruin of the State !”

It is now possible, I think, to resolve the old opposition of theses on this question. Mr. R. N. Patterson, in his interesting and instructive work, entitled *The New Golden Age*, undertakes to refute the unqualified or primary form of the anti-bullion doctrine. The doctrine is, he says, “that an abundance or scarcity of money is an illusion, and that it does not matter a straw whether the currency or medium of exchange in any country be changed from 100 millions of coin to only 50, or enlarged from 50 millions to 100 : because, it is said, in the former case the 50 millions will suffice to buy just as much as the 100 millions did previously,” and *vice versa*. For his part, Mr. Patterson acknowledges the abstract truth, but goes on to argue, rightly enough, that the abstract truth is conditioned by Time and human circumstances. But this is only saying what nobody denies—what I have just been saying—that illusion is a very potent force in human affairs ; in other words, that delusions about the ultimate value of bullion have swayed the destinies of races, and may continue to do so. The question at issue is, Are the delusions admitted to be so ? And the practical answer to Mr. Patterson is this :—

Granted that great changes in the matter of currency, if quickly effected, would derange all commerce ; granted also that nations have been often stirred to new activities by the delusion as to the ultimate or absolute value of bullion, the obvious conclusion is, first, that the best thing that could happen for the world would be an arrest of supply (leaving man to make the gradual adjustments necessary) and not a series of discoveries which, in the terms of the case, must disturb industry ; and, secondly, that if once the effective

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majorities of the civilised nations scientifically realise the nature of the bullion delusion, that particular delusion will cease to sway the course of civilisation.

Of course this is a large hypothesis. Possibly the nations will continue to be ruled by the bullion delusion till the end of the world. But if any of us can rise above it, we have no right to suppose that the nations as such never will. In the total history of the world down till the other day, gold-mining, after a period in which the use of the precious metals promoted at once industry, commerce and slavery, became a motive to conquest, a main support of militarism, and in turn a main cause of the real impoverishment or enfeeblement of every empire in turn. The three prominent cases of Carthage, Rome and Spain serve to prove the case thus far.

VI

It is true that in the modern world, where gold-mining does not lead to the abandonment of real industry, the evil tendencies of the pursuit of bullion are already much modified. But even in the modern world, taking for illustration the case of California, we have to note the immense destruction of real wealth, in ways not usually recognised. The amount of formerly arable land there that has been ruined for agricultural purposes by gold and silver mining was officially calculated at ten millions of acres in 1862. And Mr. Del Mar, the latest historian of the precious metals in English, is of opinion that similar devastation in antiquity by placers and by hydraulic mining was the main cause of the permanent impoverishment of Lydia, Phrygia, the Hedjaz, and other parts of Asia Minor and Arabia. Over twenty years ago the annual damage done in California by hydraulic mining alone was estimated at £2,600,000; and this loss was then expected to continue normally for a century or more. Add to this the enormous sacrifice of capital in unprofitable mining, and it will be seen that even on commercial principles, as commonly accepted, the pursuit of bullion is a source of constant waste and loss to the human

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race, though the persistence of the really wealth-creating industries disguises the evil and averts the positively ruinous results seen to accrue from the process in past times. It is only the few, the finally lucky individuals, who are ever enriched : the great mass of the capital embarked is normally lost; and no nation is really benefited.

We may here note the solution of the conflict arising over the current proposition, advanced by Mill and others, that the value of gold is determined by its cost of production. Del Mar and others, insisting that most gold has long been raised at a loss, deny and reject the formula. It is a question of definitions. If we understand by cost of production the outlay of labour and capital required to produce a given sum of gold from the mine within a given time, the proposition is not true, for much gold has cost more than its value to produce, inasmuch as it has to compete with the standing mass, much of which was produced in antiquity by slave labour, or has replaced gold so produced; while *some* gold is raised at a high profit. But if we understand cost of production in the broad sense of the average difficulty in getting a sovereign, the proposition is philosophically true. Only, as "cost of production" has commonly the narrower sense by reason of its ordinary use in economics, the formula is inconvenient and misleading.

It has to be noted, further, on the purely economic side of the problem, that a great deal of the argumentation as to the effect of enlarged gold currency on industry is confuted by the simple fact that the bulk of the new gold produced does not get coined at all. It is used in the arts, which absorb a constantly increasing amount, and which may very well go on doing so even when the supply of new gold is arrested. And in this sense, it is rightly to be admitted, the precious metals are additions to the real wealth of the world. Whether their beauty is worth their moral cost is another question. That moral cost includes all the forms of social demoralisation which gold discoveries have always involved, and which have been abundantly illustrated in the cases of Australia, California, and the Transvaal,—the lawlessness, the violence, the crime, the vice, the disease, the substitution of speculative for regular industry, of the spirit

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of gambling for the habit of labour and the pride of craftsmanship. In Peru, despite the long-standing recognition of the ruinousness of most gold- and silver-mining, the feverish quest of those metals in the remains of the older civilisation continues, generation after generation, to suspend the progress of civilisation by withdrawing from creative enterprise all the spare energy of the nation. It is a humiliating reflection that the pre-Christian civilisation of Peru, which cared more for food production than for gold production, achieved more, and was directed by a saner ideal, than the European civilisation which overthrew it and took its place.

As regards the latest illustrations of the sociological law in question, it may suffice to point out that a vast mass of capital has been lost in the attempt to find gold in paying quantities in Rhodesia ; and that the discovery of gold in the Transvaal, while it has led to the most abundant gold-production per annum on record, has involved a more than corresponding loss of real wealth to mankind. As regards the period before 1899 it is hardly possible to strike a balance ; but it is testified by an expert, Mr. T. Collingwood Kitto, that "fifteen tons of English gold" (in the period before the development of the Rand) was spent in seeking for gold in the Lydenburg district alone, with "practically nothing" for result. The capital lost by the first speculators in the Rand would certainly amount to many millions more. Latterly, as a result of the cupidities of their successors, we have had a war which cost this country about £250,000,000 sterling, and in the course of which property to perhaps the same value was destroyed in South Africa. And as a result of all this waste of mere wealth and labour, with the concomitant destruction of human life, including many thousands of women and children, and the political destruction of two republics, we learn that the mines which brought about the whole strife cannot be worked at a profit save by substituting "indentured" Asiatic labour for that of whites. Given the continuance of such labour on a large scale, the probable upshot is the speedy exhaustion of the mines, the withdrawal of much of the remaining British population, and the lapse of the territory to its former tenants.

It scarcely belongs to our inquiry to ask for a forecast or

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prescription as to how mankind may secure the æsthetic uses of the precious metals without waste. It is a question of the control of financial machinery. The ultimate reason for the retention of gold in currency, or as a reserve in banks, is the possibility of panic. In the state of panic, mankind reverts spontaneously to a prior type of social action. And inasmuch as monetary panics become progressively rarer, as people gradually realise more clearly the real nature of wealth, and the small proportion even of conventional value borne to the wealth of any country by the mass of the bullion in circulation, it is reasonably to be inferred that they can be outlived altogether. In the United States very few people could get more than a small quantity of gold, if in a panic they wanted it ; yet the nation gets along as well as the rest of the world.

As regards currency, what is done in Scotland and the United States may be done in England ; what is done in Russia and Austria, with bad credit, may be done in Germany and France, with good credit. If gold be once reduced, throughout the world, to the vanishing point of a mere bank reserve to meet a monetary panic—a thing gradually becoming impossible—gold-mining may even without the attainment of Socialism become an ordinary commercial enterprise, to be ventured-in only on civilised principles. Inasmuch, however, as wasteful enterprise is always possible in any direction under the existing conditions of individualistic wealth-creation, waste of capital and labour will doubtless take place in gold-mining as in all other pursuits which permit of company-promotion and stock-jobbing. And where such conditions subsist there will always be waste of life and character, and moral deterioration as well as individual impoverishment. The establishment of servile labour in the Transvaal, under conditions involving unnatural vice on a scale hitherto known only in historic fable, is for modern times an extreme instance of the tendency. But the tendency is visibly powerful ; and it is fitting to demand its justification.

JOHN M. ROBERTSON

THE SURGEON'S POWER OF LIFE AND DEATH

GRADUALLY, progressively, almost imperceptibly, there has of recent years arisen in our midst a new tribunal, and one moreover of great power and far-reaching influence; this tribunal is endowed with the power of deciding questions of life and death, and as at present constituted there is no appeal whatever from its decisions, which are practically immutable and irresistible. Directly a man, after a more or less prolonged and more or less successful course of study and hospital experience, becomes capable of writing behind his name the letters M.B., M.D., M.R.C.S., F.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., or other cognate qualifications, he is at once given, in a vast number of cases, the power of deciding whether a person who has consulted him shall be submitted or not to an operation, the ultimate effect of which may cost him his life, or leave him seriously maimed or incapacitated for life. This terrible power of life and death is thus placed in the hands of an inexperienced youth, practically without any safeguard whatever; for, after the operation is over, provided the patient dies, the operator merely requires to fill up a form of certificate, furnished by the State, in which there is stated the disease for which the operation has been performed, the nature of the operation more or less explicitly expressed, with the fatal result. There is an end of the matter. No inquiry is instituted as to whether (1) the diagnosis on which the operation was founded was correct, which it is frequently not, (2) the patient was in a fit state to undergo the operation with an expectation of a favourable result, (3) the

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operation was skilfully performed by an experienced operator, (4) every precaution was taken by the operator to give his patient every possible chance of a successful result, (5) the patient as a result of the operation had a reasonable chance of being in a better position than he was before the operation if successful, *i. e.* whether as an individual he or she will be better fitted to carry on the functions of life in consequence of the operation having been performed.

Nothing whatever is done by the State in the interest of the patient, everything is left to the *bona fides* and professional integrity of the operator, which it must be admitted is rarely abused, and the law, merely through the magic influence of the letters M.B., M.R.C.S., etc., etc., allows to remain uninvestigated a death which may have been caused by culpable ignorance, gross carelessness, want of adequate experience, or a host of other causes which require careful searching out and inquiring into. In this description there is nothing exaggerated, nothing overstated, but merely a plain unvarnished exposition of facts which may be verified any day in any part of the country and which it is now time should receive the careful and deliberate attention of the State. In the case of a naval officer losing his ship, even though no loss of life is involved, he is court-martialled and a searching investigation is instituted to decide whether or not he is in any way culpable or responsible for the loss of or injury to his ship; again, when a military officer in command of men becomes involved in a disaster in which there is any loss of *personnel* or material, a more or less strict scrutiny is undertaken to prove that he has done what was humanly possible to avert or avoid the disaster; but in the case of the surgeon no such inquiry or investigation is made, and he may proceed on his happy-go-lucky way from one unsuccessful operation to another, secure in the consciousness that no inquiry into his conduct will be instituted, and that his professional conduct will not be in any way impugned,—unless, in a very exceptional case, a blunder so transparent is made that an inquiry of some sort is bound to follow, as, for instance, when a forgetful surgeon leaves in the abdominal cavity, after a laparotomy, a sponge or a pair of forceps or two;

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even then, it is doubtful if any inquiry would be made in most cases, unless some very vigilant relative or friend should happen to learn of the event, and strenuously insist on the facts being brought to light. In consequence of the advent of the use of anæsthetics, the development in the use of antiseptics, and the perfect cleanliness which has resulted from the discoveries and observations of Lord Lister, many operations in surgery which were formerly quite inadmissible are now performed with almost absolute security and with undoubted and permanent benefit to the patient ; for these legitimate operations nothing but the greatest admiration and praise can be expressed and felt, but as in all other human affairs there is nothing good and useful that has not its fraudulent imitations, so in surgery there has arisen a class of surgeons, mostly young, often inexperienced in other safer and more rational methods of treatment, and above all quite callous and indifferent to the true welfare of their patients, whom they look upon merely in the light of subjects to be experimented and operated upon. These surgeons, regardless of age or any other deterring considerations, have no hesitation in embittering the last moments of their patients by submitting them to what are practically hopeless operations, often under the specious plea of giving them a chance ; thus, what should be a peaceful death-bed scene, becomes converted into a *séance* of operating surgeons, nurses *et hoc genus omne*, to whom the suffering patient is merely an interesting case. His obituary notice is another record in the case book of the operating surgeon, who, rightly from his point of view, has by constant repetition of such scenes, quite obliterated the acute sense of humanity he originally possessed.

It may now perhaps be as well to investigate by what course of events we have arrived at our present position. Any educated and experienced practitioner of medicine will admit that in the past forty or fifty years the type of disease has been radically altered, so that the complaints and diseases which occurred in practice forty or fifty years ago were to a great extent quite different to what are met with at the present time. For instance, acute diseases such as gout, contagious fevers, small-pox, typhoid fever, etc., are

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incomparably less frequent than at the time mentioned. The explanation for this revolution in disease is simple and logical; in consequence of the more temperate use of stimulants, particularly of heavy wines and malt liquors, and the more abstemious use of meats and solid viands of that nature, there is a distinct and unmistakable decline in the prevalence of gout and its consequences, such as apoplexy; the better understanding of the nature of contagious fevers and the sanitary precautions now universally adopted as a matter of course, have resulted in an extraordinary diminution in the number and even the severity of most contagious febrile disorders, and have reduced to infinitesimal proportions the deaths due to that appalling disease named puerperal fever, which was such a scourge to our progenitors, and which at the speed at which we are now progressing should in the near future become almost unknown; in the same category may be included septic complaints following operations, which are now few and far between, but which in the immediate past, say the period specified before, were of such a malignant quality that whole wards of hospitals were infected and decimated. The increased size and area of our living-rooms, the general recognition of the value of open bedroom windows and plenty of air space, the abolition of the notion that fresh pure air is unwholesome and that disease, especially of the respiratory organs, must be treated by respiring the same air again and again, which was held in the early part of the last century; all these have tended to the prolongation of human life, at any rate in these islands, and the average duration of life is now much greater than ever it has been known before to be since records have been kept. For instance, the death-rate in 33 of the largest English towns for the year ending 2nd January 1904 was in only one single instance, that of Liverpool, over 20 per thousand (20·4), whilst the lowest rate recorded for these towns in that year was that of Croydon, which stood at 11·8. A large town like Derby had only a death-rate of 13·5 per thousand, and there were no fewer than six of these 33 large towns which had a death-rate of under 15 per thousand.

Concurrently with this great and steady diminution in

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the death-rate of this country, there is an alteration in the type of disease, and with the reduction in acute, febrile and contagious diseases, as might be reasonably expected, there has been an increase in disease of a chronic nature, more especially in those of a degenerative character, such as malignant and innocent growths, and in nervous diseases. Again, in consequence of the progress of surgical knowledge many diseases of infancy which were formerly of a fatal character are now successfully treated and these children are now reared, whereas till recently they would have died; the prevalence of children's Hospitals, children's wards in Infirmarys, district nurses and such like institutions have resulted in the fact that a delicate child's chance of being brought up is now immensely increased. Whether altogether this is a benefit to the community at large is another question which it is not my present intention to enlarge upon; the fact remains and is undeniable. Now this is the very class of individuals that is the most likely in after life to be afflicted with malignant and other growths and degenerative diseases; thus in consequence of this change in the type of the individual reared, and also in consequence of the progress of surgery, the introduction of anæsthetics which render operations practically painless, and the adoption of antiseptic methods of treatment, which has rendered operations much safer, an enormous impetus has been given to operative surgery, so that it is quite safe to say that the number of operations in the last thirty years, even taking into consideration the increase of the population, has increased *pro rata* four-fold. This is as it should be; but now the time has come when the question of the personal responsibility of the operating surgeon should be considered seriously by the people at large. Operations may be divided into three classes: (1) legitimate and defensible, (2) illegitimate and indefensible, (3) those on the borderland between the two. We will now briefly consider these three classes.

1. Legitimate and defensible operations. Under this heading may be placed all those which give relief to pain, remove accessible growths, remove diseased, injured or useless members and organs—the scope of this article does not include surgical injuries. In fact, any operation may be

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described as legitimate and defensible which is undertaken for the benefit of the individual without unduly risking his life, so that at the conclusion of the operation the patient is placed in a better position than he was prior to the operation having been performed.

2. Illegitimate and indefensible operations. In these the life of the patient is risked or shortened, and he or she is often put to vast pain, inconvenience and expense without any reasonable prospect of relief. It is notorious that many operations are performed as the result of a mistaken diagnosis, that cases of so-called appendicitis have been operated upon where the vermiform appendix has been found quite healthy, and that an operation for appendicitis has been recommended where the patient has declined to be operated upon, and subsequently made a perfect recovery without any operation whatever having been performed.

An excellent example of an illegitimate and indefensible operation is the following :—A blacksmith, aged about 35 years, was suffering from a cancer affecting the parietes of the abdomen just over the region of the liver. Considering the size and position of the growth my emphatic opinion was that the case was an irremediable one, and that under no circumstances whatever should any operative procedure be adopted. A few days after having expressed the above opinion, a note was sent to me by a well-known operating surgeon, saying that he had been consulted by the aforementioned blacksmith and that he had decided to remove the growth, also asking me to be present at the operation, which was fixed a few days later at the patient's own home. Prior to the operation being commenced it was my unpleasant duty to protest against it being undertaken on the grounds that it was absolutely useless, as the growth could not possibly be entirely removed, that most likely some of the internal organs would be found to be secondarily affected, and finally that the operation would imperil and shorten the man's life. Notwithstanding my protest the operation was proceeded with. It occupied close upon two hours, and was only very partially successful. It was found impossible to bring the margins of the resulting wound together. Strange to say, the patient did not die

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under the operation but lingered on in a state of great suffering for about three weeks. He was a member of the choir of a neighbouring church, at which a subscription was raised to pay his doctor's bill, which was not a small one, but his wife and children were left in very penurious circumstances. No better example to my mind of a useless and improper operation could be given. To remove any possible misapprehension it is advisable to state that the operator in that case has been dead for several years. To sum up, no operation should be undertaken unless there is a reasonable prospect of relief ; unless the patient at the conclusion of the operation is likely to be left at least in as good a position as he was before. At the commencement of an operation the surgeon should remember that the thing cannot be undone, that for good or ill the operation is about to be performed, and he should, as far as is humanly possible, resolve that under no preventible circumstances shall his patient be in a worse position as a result of the operation than he was before.

3. Operations that are on the borderland between defensible and indefensible. In many cases a patient may be suffering from such intense pain and misery as to make life insupportable and unendurable ; in others the case may be very obscure ; again, a case that is certainly fatal unless something is done, may offer as a last hope some remedial treatment by operation. Each of these classes requires different consideration. To take first the cases where an operation is performed in order to clear up obscurity. These are often so-called exploratory operations ; these in my opinion should never be performed until every other method of perfecting the diagnosis has been exhausted. The surgeon or physician should train his hand and mind so accurately as to be able to determine what is going on inside by external examination which involves no risk ; he should exercise patience, and if necessary ask for further advice, if he doubt his own competence, in preference to submitting his patient to risks which may prove fatal, and which in many cases are quite useless. In those cases that are likely to prove fatal unless some operative procedure is adopted, the possibility that he may be wrong in his

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diagnosis should be considered, and the question whether he is not deluding himself in saying that there is a chance, and so embittering the last moments of his patient, and adding to the already grievous trouble and anxiety the friends are suffering from without any firm hope of giving relief; in fine, he ought to let nature have a chance, that nature which often performs what seems almost miraculous. The most difficult problem to face is the one mentioned, where a case is admittedly hopeless but where the patient is suffering from such intolerable and unrelievable agony that it is felt that something must be done if possible; where not only is the patient himself suffering, but all his relatives and friends are tired out, and even where a staff of trained nurses is unequal to the task; the last resources of medicine and surgery are required to cope with these miserable and unfortunate cases.

These cases are by no means rare or infrequent—cases in which there is constant and intolerable pain day and night, and where the strain of seeing the suffering is agonising to the bystanders. Now in these cases is the surgeon to blame if, urged on to do it by the patient, urged on by the patient's friends, yea, urged on by his own humanity, he attempt some heroic operation which inwardly he knows has no chance of success, but which he also knows will in all probability relieve the patient not only of his sufferings but of life itself, and in which in fact the surgeon acts the part of the friendly executioner? That question it is not for me to answer.

Sufficient has now been said to answer my purpose, *i. e.* to found a basis on which to establish my thesis that the present position of operating surgery has founded what is in fact a new tribunal, and one, moreover, of great and far-reaching power with very little, if any, responsibility, and that in the interests of the people at large it is quite time this far-reaching power and lack of responsibility should be seriously inquired into, and that if it is found necessary its powers should be limited and its responsibility vastly increased by bringing each individual case operated upon, at any rate where a fatal termination ensues, under the notice and investigation of an authorised court of inquiry,

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either a new court of inquiry to be established for the purpose or some modification of the present Coroner's Court. In all other cases of death by violence or misadventure there is an inquiry made to determine if anybody be at fault, and there is no reason why in this particular instance such an inquiry should be evaded. As before stated, if a merchant captain or a naval captain lose his ship or have it seriously damaged either with or without loss of life, or if a military officer lose a position, stores or men, an inquiry or court-martial is at once instituted and the officer in charge has to clear himself of incompetence, ignorance, or want of due care in the discharge of his duties, and there is invariably an inquest on a person who dies under chloroform or any other anæsthetic. If so, there can be no reason why the operating surgeon in case of dire failure and loss of human life should not also be called upon to vindicate his conduct and capacity. If he were thus liable to be called upon he would be stimulated by a grave sense of responsibility not to enter upon or undertake any such operation in a flippant, uncertain manner, knowing that if he did so he would be required to furnish unimpeachable and incontrovertible reasons for having so undertaken it, and subjected his patients to perils of such consideration and moment as to involve the possible loss of their life.

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LIBERALISM AND LOCAL VETO

AMONG the changes which have come over the opinions of our two political parties in recent years, none is more remarkable than that which is concerned with temperance reform. In the late eighties and all through the nineties a single proposal held the ground, and secured an apparent adhesion from the whole Liberal party. This proposal, called Local Option by its friends and Local Veto by its enemies, would have introduced into England, but not into Ireland, a practice which prevailed in many States of the Union of giving to the householders in any district the power to prohibit the retail sale of alcohol within their district. In its practical form, *i.e.* in Sir William Harcourt's Bill, it offered alternatives—a reduction in the number of licences, which might be ordered by a bare majority of the voters, and total prohibition, which required a majority of two-thirds. Such was the measure which obtained unanimous support from the National Liberal Federation as representing the party, and I must testify to the enthusiasm with which Sir Wilfrid Lawson and his resolutions were received at the Portsmouth and Cardiff meetings. No resolution appeared to be so strongly supported. How did it obtain that support, and why does it possess it no longer?

The advocates of Local Option based their case mainly on the experience of Norway, and of several American States such as Maine, Kansas and Iowa, and they contended that a policy which had succeeded in these places would succeed in England. They enforced their arguments by an appeal to the Liberal principle of "trust in the people," and by representing Local Option as an extension or special application of local government. In practice, also, they possessed a

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powerful and energetic organisation, the United Kingdom Alliance, which had great influence in the selection of candidates and in the construction of programmes for local Liberal Associations. To counteract them no organisation of any kind existed, and such opposition as there was came from the followers of J. S. Mill and a few of the older Liberals.

Why, then, with all these strategic advantages, has Local Option lost its prominent place in the Liberal programme? The first cause, no doubt, is mere opportunism, a belief that the prejudice against Local Veto and the cry, "Who would rob the poor man of his beer?" were responsible for the crushing defeat of the Liberal party at the general election of 1895, and for all that this defeat has meant since. The second and more worthy cause is the growing belief that "force is no remedy,"—that merely negative measures must fail to solve the problem of intemperance. This belief has derived increased strength from careful investigations into the working of Local Option and Prohibition in the United States and Norway. Up to 1899 every one seemed to take it for granted that the Maine Law and its various imitations were acting with salutary effect. Then appeared a truly epoch-making book—"The Temperance Problem and Social Reform." I say "epoch-making" advisedly, for this book has profoundly modified the programme of one political party, and has almost formed a new party of moderate reformers. With immense care and industry Mr. Joseph Rowntree and Mr. Arthur Sherwell had set themselves to study the question of excessive drinking both at home and abroad, and had compared the various licensing systems of different countries.

They came to the conclusion, or rather they presented an array of facts which forced their readers to the conclusion, that Prohibition as distinct from Local Option, *i. e.* as applied to a large area, was a complete failure, and that Local Option, except in very sparsely populated agricultural districts, met with but slightly greater success. They produced irrefragable evidence, official statistics of drunkenness, testimony of unimpeachable witnesses, and photographs of regularly fitted and openly-conducted drinking saloons, which showed that even in the capital city of the chief Prohibition State

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(Maine), the law was systematically defied, with all the moral evils that such defiance always brings in its train.

In the same way they explained the limitations of Local Option in Norway. A system which does not apply to beer or to wine of any kind cannot fairly be described as Prohibitionist ; and indeed total Prohibition, as attempted elsewhere, leads especially to the consumption of alcohol in its most portable form, *i. e.* spirits. But they admitted that the policy of restriction had effected an enormous decrease in the consumption of spirits, and they also showed that the company system, a kind of Public House Trust, or "Disinterested Management," had met the positive demand for spirits without encouraging it.

About the same time there appeared a rather different publication—the report and evidence of Lord Peel's Commission—which drew the attention of all serious persons regardless of party to the deplorable effects of over-drinking in England. The chief reform suggested by both sections of the Commission recommended a drastic reduction in the number of licensed houses. Since that date licencing justices throughout the country have devoted their energies to the refusal of new licences and to the suppression, by arrangement with the owners, of superfluous houses.

In all this hardly anything has been heard of Local Veto, and, with the passing of Mr. Balfour's Compensation Act, it has become a legal impossibility. Liberal Associations, members, and candidates have tacitly dropped the unpopular proposal, so that it no longer forms a plank in the official Liberal platform. Is this a fact to be deplored or to be welcomed ? It would be absurd, if not immoral, to argue that a political proposal must be wrong because it is unpopular ; it would be much safer to suggest that it had become unpopular because it was seen to be unfair or impracticable. Reasoning on the grounds of abstract political principle carries little weight, so we need not debate the question of the right of a majority to control the action of a minority in the matter of drinking.

Putting on one side, then, abstract reasoning, what are the practical objections to Local Veto ? In the first place, it has proved, up to the present time, an obstacle to other

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reforms. For fifty years and more the "Alliance" has demanded it, and more lately it was the one measure of temperance reform which the Liberal Party placed in its programme. No one can doubt that the brewers and licensed victuallers hold a much stronger legal position than they did a generation ago, and although the actual number of licensed houses has steadily fallen in that period the aggregate value of the remaining houses has enormously increased, especially in the big towns. Our only licensing reforms, indeed, have come from a Conservative government. I have heard Sir Wilfrid Lawson himself declare that he was not a "Licensing Reformer,"—he believed in sweeping the whole traffic away. With all the force of the organised temperance party concentrated upon this one proposal, other proposals fell to the ground, and the most obvious precautions which would have prevented the growth of a State-subsidised trade were neglected.

A further practical, or rather tactical, objection is that Local Veto gives "The Trade" a good battlefield. It is so easy to tell the working man that the Liberals are going to take away his beer, to shut up his favourite public house, and to turn his friend the publican, who is usually a very decent fellow, into the street; and the working man says "This isn't fair," and votes Conservative. This undoubtedly happened in 1895, and Liberals are certainly not going to sacrifice all their other hopes of legislative and administrative reform to this single proposal, nor will they again court defeat by contending for a measure which some regard with aversion and few believe to be useful. Most of them too, having read the books of Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell, have come to the conclusion that a prohibitive measure will not work in England, least of all in those big towns where reform is most needed. No one can seriously believe that the complete closing of licensed houses is conceivable in the central districts of London, Manchester, or Liverpool.

What arguments do the advocates of Local Veto advance in its favour? They say first of all that it is democratic, and based upon the Liberal principle of "trust in the people." It undoubtedly depends upon a popular vote, taken on the broadest franchise; but if carried into effect it

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only closes public houses, not restaurants, railway bars, hotels, or clubs. That is to say, it chiefly affects the poor, who will be debarred from obtaining beer and spirits in their usual way. It does not attempt to restrict the indulgence of the rich man, who still has the free use of his cellar, his club and his hotel. In fact, as Mr. E. R. Pease says, it is "a class measure, it enables the rich to place restrictions on the poor in a matter which directly concerns the poor alone." Moreover it does not carry out its professed principle of "trust in the people," since it only gives the option of reduction or no-licence, not that of more licence or of any other alternative such as the company system.

Another ground on which Local Option has been defended is that it carries on the Liberal principle of local self government. Now the basis of local government in England is the administration by locally elected councils of general laws passed by Parliament. The local councils have very little discretion in matters of principle but fairly wide powers of administration. Parliament, for instance, prescribes schools, water supplies, drainage, etc., and the councils arrange for the management or construction of them. No Education Committee and, of course, no Board of Managers has discretion to decide whether elementary schools shall or shall not exist in their county or parish—this is a matter of national concern, and the same is the case with drainage and waterworks, roads, prisons and police. Nor, of course, could a local authority be allowed to dispense with policemen, or let its main roads degenerate into tracks. Drainage and water supplies are often forced on a reluctant Council by the Local Government Board. In no case, except perhaps that of Free Libraries, have local authorities an absolute discretion, although there are certain Acts of Parliament which they may or may not adopt. In local government the universal rule holds good—principles belong to Parliament, administration to local authorities, supervision to the central Department.

To most people, however, the conclusive argument against Local Veto or Local Option is based not on principle or on *a priori* grounds but upon experience. Norway

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and the United States both present us with object lessons in the practical working of Local Option. When I say Norway, I ought rather to have said, that Norway is held up to us as an example of the successful working of Local Option. As a matter of fact, there is no close analogy between the law as it exists in Norway and the Bill proposed by Sir W. Harcourt in 1895. Throughout Norway the sale of beer and wine escapes altogether from the Local Option law, which deals solely with the sale of spirits. In the large towns, also, from which alone any argument affecting the conditions of English life could be drawn, spirits are not prohibited, but are sold, under most stringent and salutary conditions, by Companies over which the Municipality has very large control. The results of the Company system strike the visitor to Bergen or other Norwegian towns as most satisfactory. Even in rural districts, which are so sparsely populated that no comparison can be made with any part of England except perhaps Dartmoor, the prohibition of spirits is far from effectual. I found no difficulty in obtaining brandy in rural hotels, but it appeared on the bill as "Selters." Norway, then, furnishes us with no argument in favour of Local Option. If any inference can be drawn from the experience of that country it is one in favour of "Disinterested Management."

Let us now turn to America—the birthplace of Prohibition. It is now, I think, generally admitted that Prohibition, as applied to any part of the country except sparsely populated districts, has failed entirely, and the sale of alcohol goes on as if no law forbade it. Much, however, has been done in the States to improve the character and reduce the number of drinking saloons by means of that High Licence system which our own Temperance reformers have so strangely neglected. In our efforts to obtain the impossible we have allowed brewers and distillers to make enormous fortunes out of the lucrative monopoly which the State has granted to them. We have actually presented to them a war fund of ten millions a year with which they may fight all our efforts to diminish the harmful effects of their trade. A second problem which Local Veto ignores is that furnished by Clubs. No one can suppose

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that the members of the Carlton or the Reform would allow themselves to be deprived of their wine by a vote of the householders in Regent Street, and we cannot have one law for Pall Mall and another for West Ham.

A further argument against Local Veto is a purely practical one, based upon a reasonable anticipation of its effect in practice. "In those areas," writes Lord Coleridge in the Eighty Club Essays, "where it is the greatest evil, where the people are most wedded to their drink, the result would disappoint us, and where temperance predominates the evil is less pronounced." In other words, the probability that Local Option would be used to veto the issue of licences varies inversely with the need for suppression.

Having thus seen that Local Option in its crude form of Local Veto is impracticable, we come to the final question—"What form of Local Option, if any, is desirable?" One might perhaps lay down the principle that the inhabitants of any given district should have the right of forbidding any great change in the condition of their district. New licences, for instance, should never be granted, unless the demand for them is supported by a considerable majority of the people who live and work in the district, and this demand must be ascertained by some kind of plébiscite or referendum. Then again, as the needs of localities differ, and as Parliament cannot schedule them in a general Act, wide powers of option between different methods of licensing—powers to make experiments, to fix hours of sale, to close on Sundays, to hand over the trade in alcohol to disinterested companies, and to set up counter-attractions to the public house should be granted. All this must be done by responsible persons, and should therefore be entrusted to an elected authority. In this way the residents in any locality will be able to express their views by electing representatives who share those views, and the executive body, in carrying out a policy in which it believes, will have the satisfaction of knowing that its action will be supported by public opinion.

J. E. ALLEN

A MARTYR TO MAMMON

THE only thing that preserves the clear-seeing and close-reasoning man from utter pessimism is the knowledge that things social have improved, are improving, and will continue to improve. When one thinks of the hundreds of human beings who at present are being mutely massacred in lead-works, killed by inches in chemical factories, prematurely worn out by long hours and impure air behind seat-less counters, blinded and stifled in the subterranean dwellings of "entering clerks," and generally offered up to the Moloch of money-making, one is inclined to melancholia. It is a consolation to know that, bad as things are now, they were a great deal worse a hundred years ago, when fortunes were being made "by leaps and bounds" by the owners of factories. Like the Giant of Fee-fah-fo-fum fame, who "ground men's bones to make his bread," these miscreants sacrificed boys and girls on the altar of Mammon with a callous cruelty which would be incredible were it not established by sworn evidence.

A curiously realistic and personal account of the sufferings of the factory children at the beginning of the last century remains in that rare work, the "Memoir of Robert Blincoe," written by a certain "John Brown," and published in pamphlet form.

Blincoe was a workhouse waif, who was sent in 1799, with a large number of other children, from St. Pancras Workhouse to a cotton-mill near Nottingham. These poor little creatures were apprenticed to the owner of the mill until they were twenty-one years of age. In order to make the children willing to leave the "house" for the mill, they were told by the authorities at St. Pancras that they would

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be fed on roast beef and plum pudding, be allowed to ride their master's horses, and have plenty of cash in their pockets. The reality was crushing. When the carts containing the children drew up at Lowdham Mill, a number of the villagers crowded round them ejaculating: "God help the poor wretches!" and "The Lord have mercy on them!"

They found very little mercy at the mill. When Blincoe became what was called a "roving winder," he was so short that, unable to reach his work, this child of seven years old was placed on a block. But it was impossible for him by any possible exertion to keep pace with the machinery. In vain he declared that it was not in his power to move quicker. He was severely beaten till his body was discoloured by bruises. And here the system of deputed cruelty, so common in the relations of capital to labour, came in. The masters seldom visited the mill, and entrusted the slave-driving of the children to over-lookers. If every child did not perform the task allotted to him or her, the over-looker not only lost the premium paid for the full amount, but was discharged. This amount of work the over-lookers could only exact by severe punishment, and it was the principal cause of their ferocity.

The children had to work fourteen hours a day, and on occasions, fifteen to sixteen. So poorly fed were they, that they were accustomed, when the master's pigs were fed, to creep to the side of the sty, and purloin the meal through a hole in the palings. Half-starved, and "spotted like a leopard with bruises," Blincoe made an effort—heroic in a child of seven—to escape, and lay his case before the overseers and churchwardens of St. Pancras. He was captured and brought back, and soon endured the "strap or the stick, the cuff or the kick" with as much resignation as any of his fellow-sufferers. To brutal treatment was added danger of injury. Many of the other children had already lost joints of their fingers in the machinery. In this way, the fore-finger of Blincoe's left hand was taken off. A surgeon "composedly put the parts together," and the child was sent, in agony, back to his work at once. One of the little girls was suddenly snatched up, whirled round, the bones of

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her limbs broken, and her mangled body jammed so that it actually stopped the main shaft. Wonderful to write, she survived her injuries, and was sent back to the mill to do her work as a cripple on crutches.

Lowdham Mill, however, was a chapel of ease compared with Litton Mill, near Tideswell, where Blincoe was sent on the proprietors of Lowdham giving up their business. Situate at the bottom of a sequestered glen, it seemed a fit place for the martyrdom of the friendless victims of extortionate avarice. Every morning at five, the governor, carrying a horse-whip, came into the dormitory where the apprentices slept, fifty in a room, and literally flogged them out to work. Their food was water-porridge and oaten cake ; and they frequently had to work sixteen hours a day without rest or food. A minor detail is as significant as it is pathetic. Blincoe often dropped down at the frames, and was so weary that, when he left work, *he gave a stronger boy part of his supper to let him lean upon him on his way back to the 'prentice-house.*

Under this treatment, the children died off so rapidly that the masters required frequent drafts of "workhouse brats" to fill up the vacancies. Contagious fevers, the result of the insufficient food, the over-work, and the filthy condition of the children's bodies, broke out. On one occasion forty boys were down with the fever at once, "none being considered sick till it was found impossible by menaces or corporal punishment to keep them to their work." So great was the mortality, that Mr. Needham, the proprietor of the Litton Mill, thought it advisable to divide the burials between two churchyards, in order to minimise the scandal. "Not a spark of pity was shown to the sick of either sex : they were worked to the very last moment it was possible for them to work," and when they dropped, they were put in a wheelbarrow, and wheeled to their lodging to recover or die. "Generally speaking, the dying experienced less attention than a sheep or a pig. The owner of Litton Mill was more tender to those animals, because they cost money, and Mr. Needham could only be excited by a loss of capital." As for attendance and nursing, the sick children had to wait on each other.

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All kinds of tortures were inflicted on the boys to make them endeavour to keep up with the machinery. The atrocities of the over-lookers sometimes suggest specific mania. Blincoe was not only beaten with sticks and ropes ; he was tied up by his wrists above the moving machinery, so that he was obliged to lift up his legs at each of its advances.

But nothing could quell the indomitable spirit of Robert Blincoe. After an unusually brutal beating, he ran off at speed to the house of a neighbouring magistrate, named Thornelly, to demand redress. Mr. Thornelly was dining out, and Blincoe was captured by the manager of the mill before he could state his case. At last he succeeded in getting at another magistrate, who wrote him a letter to take to his employer. The only notice the brute took of the epistle was to give Blincoe another flogging more terrible than the other. With astonishing perseverance, he again ran off and again complained ; but, finding himself "put off" and neglected, he gave it up as a bad job, went back to the mill, and surrendered at discretion.

Blincoe was an example of the survival of the fittest. Crippled and deformed by his sufferings, he lived through them, though hundreds of other children had succumbed. He served his full time of apprenticeship, and finally achieved the dignity of a journeyman, working on an average sixteen hours a day at a wage of thirteen shillings a week. He managed to scrape together enough to become a dealer and chapman, married a woman with a little money, and ended in keeping a small grocer's shop.

The narrative, realistic as one of Zola's novels, is instructive as to the lengths to which men will go in pursuit of gain. Many of these millowners were "highly respectable" personages, steady church-goers and punctual rate-payers. Wiertz painted a picture of Napoleon in Hell, surrounded by the ghosts of the victims of his wars. A modern artist might conceive a companion painting in which one of the rapid fortune-makers of 1800 A.D. is mobbed in Hades by the children he had sacrificed to Mammon.

JOHN UNIACKE

LESLIE STEPHEN : A REVIEW¹

MR. MAITLAND, following Leslie Stephen's example of self-effacement almost too faithfully, says he is disqualified by gross and unblushing partiality for appraising Stephen's writings. By the same cause I am doubly disqualified for appraising Mr. Maitland's writing on Leslie Stephen. If the reader wants impartial criticism, he is warned that he must seek it elsewhere ; but I shall be surprised if the judgment of impartial critics differs greatly from mine. Mr. Maitland has done as well for Leslie Stephen as Leslie Stephen did for Fitzjames, and the only possible ground of complaint is that he has not given us quite enough of himself. The material is abundant, the witnesses good and many, the expounder so modest that he would fain have us believe him a mere compiler. But his light cannot hide itself under the bushel of humility. Some kinds of self-denial are happily not practicable. A scholar, a humourist, a Cambridge man loving Cambridge intensely, a master of pure English : these were some of Leslie Stephen's attributes. No one can read many pages of this book without learning, if he did not know it already, that they are Mr. Maitland's too, and that he is fitted by them, as very few other men could be, to handle his theme worthily. Here is a comment on Stephen's meeting with the King, then Prince of Wales, at a dinner which celebrated the completion of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The Prince, Stephen related, had asked whether he smoked ; and Stephen went home outside an omnibus, both bored and amused.

¹ *The Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen.* By Frederic William Maitland. London : Duckworth and Co., 1906. 18s. net.

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“Did he smoke? With the eye of faith we may see a silent but convincing answer given to the Prince’s question. We watch the tall man, aged sixty-seven, who has climbed to the top of the omnibus. A hand dives into a pocket and thence extracts an ancient pipe. Is there a guide in all the Alps more expert with a match in a wind? Would Melchior show more skill? So the smoke goes up; and no one will grudge the smoker his ‘chuckle or two,’ for, beyond a doubt, he has been ‘dreadfully bored,’ and, beyond a doubt, the *Dictionary* which ‘cost a slice of his life’ was ‘a good bit of work.’”

There is more of Leslie Stephen in this little paragraph than in a dozen pages of formal biography. Here again is a foot-note after Stephen’s own heart concerning an address to Mr. Holman Hunt which was drafted by Stephen and, it seems, amended by a committee.

“On a printed copy of this address Stephen noted that another hand had touched it, and that he was not guilty of ‘the century of which you have been an ornament.’ I cannot imagine Stephen writing a phrase so suggestive of the fire-stove.”

Let us be thankful that Stephen has not been delivered over to some biographer of the ornamented fire-stove species.

As not one reader in a hundred will pursue a reference, Mr. Maitland is wise in giving, under the preliminary heading of Parentage, a summary version of what Leslie Stephen himself, in his life of Fitzjames, had set forth as touching the Stephen family. Mere enumerative genealogy is in itself the driest and dullest form of narrative. It is another thing to see how the foundations of eminence were laid in ancestral care and virtue, and how the ripe tradition flourishes afresh in new, it may be in quite unexpected forms. A shrewd observer might have predicted that in Fitzjames and Leslie Stephen, who were growing up about the middle of the nineteenth century, the joint paternal and maternal strain of orthodoxy—liberal orthodoxy for the

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time, but firm—could not be precisely continued. He could scarcely have foreseen that in each case the conflict, in absolutely sincere minds, of independent thinking with belief accepted from one's nearest and dearest would act on a sensitive nature so as to produce a strict reserve as to the man's real feelings, guarded in ways outwardly very different and equally misleading to all but intimates. Both men, notwithstanding an ample sense of humour, took life as a whole too gravely to find much amusement in it as a spectacle. Perhaps this was connected with an indifference to enjoyment of art for its own sake which was a blind spot common to their spacious and active minds. It would be a mistake to set down either of them as a pessimist ; it was not their normal habit to damn the nature of things with Porson. Yet their relations to it, if not exactly strained, were not cordial, and could at best be described as correct. A mood of somewhat reluctant acquiescence, too proud to vent itself in complaint, and too sincere and unselfish to feed vanity, was not likely to produce any such facile geniality as adorns the self-contented man. Fitzjames Stephen dissembled his humanity by seeming aggressive, and Leslie by seeming unapproachable. Accordingly the judgment of superficial acquaintance called Fitzjames brutal and Leslie cynical, with even wider departure from truth than usually attends on such judgments. Those who knew both men as they were are very sure that failure to know either would have been a loss not to be compensated. It was possible, and doubtless good so far as it went, to know Fitzjames Stephen moderately well. Leslie had under the mask a peculiar subtle charm, and the discovery of it came with a dramatic enlightenment, not persuading but compelling. When once the ice was broken, it was deep water or nothing. Sir Alfred Lyall goes to the root of the matter in a communication to Mr. Maitland : " He was a man on whose steadfast friendship, whenever it might be put to the proof, I felt that one might have relied confidently." Like many shy men, Leslie Stephen won some of his best friends by enthusiasm in a common cause. In 1863 he was of the minority among educated Englishmen who stood for the North from the beginning of the American Civil War.

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He crossed the Atlantic with a few introductions "to see for himself how matters stood," and thus he came to know Lowell, Mr. C. E. Norton, and O. W. Holmes junior, now Mr. Justice Holmes of the Supreme Court of the United States. Two of these lifelong friends survive to bear witness of the affection he inspired. Mr. Maitland has made excellent use of his correspondence with the three; the specimens of Stephen's letters make us wish that we could have the whole, and both sides of it.

For Leslie Stephen's earlier life Mr. Maitland has necessarily relied on the records and information of an earlier generation. His diligence in the minutest details has not shrunk from labour which would have been more than enough for a biographer having nothing else to do, and we may be sure that whatever he has left unsolved is now insoluble. Eton days are lightly touched; Mr. Maitland, an Etonian himself, knows well that a boy who leaves the school at fourteen carries but little away from it. The tutor's report of inability to do verses, perhaps taken too seriously, was the determining cause; nowadays it would not be deemed sufficient. Cambridge was Leslie Stephen's true nursing mother, and it is good to think that he is commemorated there in exactly the right way. As a Trinity Hall tutor he, the so-called cynic, anticipated the sociable and human methods of the modern don. At Cambridge, too, the boy who had been all but an invalid found himself a man of rare vigour and endurance, and from Cambridge he went forth to excel among the pioneers of the Alpine Club. Some little obscurity hangs over his parting from Trinity Hall at the time when it became clear to him that he could no longer serve as an Anglican minister. But it is plain that, the fundamental difficulty being there and insuperable, he parted on friendly terms which were honourable to all concerned. He was never parted from Cambridge in spirit, and the clear sanity of mind which is the traditional pride of Cambridge informed all his work even when he was combating traditions. If at times he was vehement in combat, it was not against persons or even opinions; the only thing he could not tolerate was intellectual duplicity.

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A special chapter, happily entitled "The Playground of Europe" after Stephen's own collection of mountaineering narratives and essays, is given, as of right, to his Alpine performances. There is one lacuna, a sadly inevitable one, to be an abiding regret among companions of that craft. C. E. Mathews had promised his recollections, and did not live to send them. As it is, however, Mr. Maitland has had able and zealous helpers; and if he has left much to be read between the lines by mountaineers, it is because full comment would have demanded a volume. Stephen, we are told, kept no record of his climbs—except new expeditions, as King Solomon made no account of silver. A man who in two successive years was of the first parties on the Schreckhorn and across the Jungfrau Joch, the greatest rock summit and the grandest ice-pass of the Oberland, could afford to let the memory of smaller matters take its chance. Note, reader, if you are not of the initiated, that the strain of an expedition, especially when it is new, is not measured by the number of hard places, but by the need of constant vigilance due to the lack of easy ones; and it was in such work that Stephen's endurance and sureness put him above his fellows. But I have formerly spoken in this Review of Leslie Stephen as a climber and walker, and must now keep silence even from good words. One interesting link between his athletic and his scholarly faculties has been brought out by Mr. Maitland, apparently for the first time. The dates make it highly probable that Stephen's early Alpine papers led him to discover his own power of writing English. Mountaineers, at any rate, will hold this as a pious opinion.

If one is asked to point to Leslie Stephen's best work, it is hard to make a choice. Begin with *Hours in a Library*, I should say, and learn to appreciate the most candid and modest of critics, who always put justice to his subject first and display of his own knowledge last, and hardly ever went wrong, learned without pedantry and subtle without paradox. For my own part I think he never did better than in the course of lectures he was unable to deliver, *English Literature and Society in the Eighteenth Century*. Even if they missed his final touches, they are a model of ripe and easy mastery. So complete is the illumination that we

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forget how complex the matter really was. His greatest literary monument, no doubt, is the *Dictionary of National Biography*, where, as befits his character, the most fruitful and strenuous work does not appear on the surface. Mr. Maitland has told us how he determined from the first to set the standard at the highest, and this when there was yet nothing to call a real school of historical studies in England ; how he laid out the plan for himself and made and tested his tools as he went on, and how there was some painful cutting off of unsound members in the early stages. If there is anything more irksome than writing to a fixed length, it is reducing the length of what other men have written. Much of Stephen's editorial toil was of that kind, and it was no wonder that it bore hard upon him. A man of less refined conscience would have taken the responsibility more lightly, and perhaps have got the thing done almost as well, but not quite. Anyhow, Stephen, with all his self-depreciation, never doubted that the work was worth the cost. It would have been well if unremitting labour had left its mark only on his handwriting ; though I do not admit that even his latest writing could be called bad. One may puzzle printers without a bad hand. All fine cursive writing—and Stephen's was often minute—presents difficulties unless it is formed with extreme care, or the reader understands pretty well what it is about. There was one marvellous misprint in a foot-note (not in the *Dictionary*). Stephen found in his proof : " As wine to walnuts, or as mustard is to beef." The true reading of the MS. was " In answer to Arbuthnot's letter mentioned in the text." The compositor had read " mentioned " as " mustard," and the rest was brilliant but misguided conjecture founded on that initial error. Truly *l'homme propose et le prote dispose*. It would have been what classical editors call a *locus vix sanabilis* to any one but the author himself. I am apt to think that more of these conjectural perversions than we know, or at this day can discover, figure in our received text of Shakespeare.

In accordance with Stephen's general turn of thought, his philosophy was ethical before all things ; he cared but little for the metaphysical side of ethics, and less for

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metaphysical speculation in itself, though he was quite capable of facing it at need. This was already visible in his published work, but Mr. Maitland has given us further proof of it in the letters. Leslie Stephen described a discussion at the Metaphysical Society as "an inarticulate wrangle"; this must not be put down to prejudice, for that Society in its thriving days, about thirty years ago, was a wonderful mixture of competent dialecticians with persons otherwise distinguished but wholly incompetent in philosophy, and nothing but inarticulate wrangle could be the result of such a company debating ultimate problems. One or two individual criticisms of Stephen's will be recognised as absolutely just. I refrain from speaking here of his merit as a historian of the English school of philosophy, the rather because it is not open to doubt. An exacting metaphysician might call Stephen a philosopher with an imperfect allegiance to philosophy. The most indulgent politician could not find any saving grace for him if any kind of political allegiance were necessary to salvation. His instincts were all on the Liberal side, but he accepted no dogmas and did not respect persons. "If W. E. G. had been elaborately preparing for a smash for the last five years, I don't well see what more he could have done," he wrote at the time of the General Election of 1874. And this, written in 1881, is doubly unorthodox: "I guess that he [Dean Stanley] will be succeeded by Farrar, who is just the man to impose upon a rhetorician like Gladstone." The prophecy was not fulfilled. Whether Stephen thought better of Mr. Gladstone afterwards is not recorded. Probably no two men living in the nineteenth century had less common ground of either opinion or sentiment.

If the reader has not already seen this book itself, he is asked to understand that, though the work of a friend and more than a friend, it is in no sense a panegyric or an officious biography. There is no disguise at all, and no reticence except such as is called for in all writings concerned with recent events and living persons. In one or two cases, where it was really a matter of indifference whether a name should be printed or not, the value of the harmless but not strictly necessary x may be readily supplied

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from information given either on the same page or on some other. As to Leslie Stephen himself, Mr. Maitland has rightly chosen to let us know that he is dealing with a man of flesh and blood, not a model of inhuman perfection. It would be unfair to point to examples, as they would be disproportioned and misleading without their context, and the context is the whole of the book. Enough to say that Mr. Maitland's discretion is just that which Leslie Stephen, a man truthful at all costs, would have desired his friends to use. I have purposely avoided making extracts from Stephen's letters. He was not of those whose light shines by sparkles, and his correspondence is no more to be appreciated by extracts than his more deliberate writing. Only abundant caution bids me add, lest the thanks due from book-lovers should seem wanting, that Mr. Maitland, as a true scholar commemorating a true scholar, has more than fulfilled the law in the matters of bibliography and index.

FREDERICK POLLOCK

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